

# **A SHORT HISTORY OF THE INQUISITION**

***WHAT IT WAS AND WHAT IT DID***

**To Which is Appended an Account of Persecutions  
by Protestants, Persecutions of Witches,  
The War Between Religion and Science,  
and the Attitude of the American Churches  
Toward African Slavery**

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## Preface.

Several years since, when the second volume of the Freethinker's Pictorial Text Book was being put through the press, it was my intention to add a chapter on the Inquisition, for convenience of reference. Mr. E. C. Walker was at that time employed in the office, and to him was given the task of compiling the work. But even a meager outline outran the limits of the work then being published, and the manuscript was laid aside to form a complete volume of itself. This work was begun last year. In the meantime Professor H. C. Lea had issued a huge history of the Inquisition, and we were able to add many facts from his volumes, which work was performed by Mr. G. E. Macdonald. For the story of the war of religion on science Dr. Andrew D. White's masterpiece is taken as authority. The names of other authors drawn upon would fill a catalogue. Due credit is given them as their works are referred to.

The chapter upon the attitude of the American churches toward African slavery is particularly valuable, and can be found nowhere else. Proof is adduced that slavery in Christian lands was founded on the Jewish system, and continued

## Preface.

by Christianity. It was perpetuated and defended by the church and clergy. It was introduced into America by a Catholic priest; and the Fugitive Slave law, the crowning legislative infamy of the system, found its justification in the precedent set by the apostle Paul.

Persecution has been as binding a duty on Christians as attendance upon worship, or support of the clergy, or anything else whereby devotion to the faith has been made manifest. Acts of persecution are somewhat loosely said to be done "in the name of" religion. The only accurate form of the proposition is that they are done by religion as the moving spirit and by the church as the interpreter of religion, "in the name of" Jesus Christ, or some other prophet, or of the deity acknowledged by the persecutors. This aspect of the truth has not before been set forth and proved by citation of facts. No other book contains between its covers so full an account of the offenses against humanity which have owed their inspiration to religion. Protestants have written books to show the persecuting spirit of Catholicism, and Catholics have done the the same disservice to Protestantism. The need is felt for a work giving the persecutions of both, and their cause, written from the point of view of the Freethinker, upon whose hands there is no blood. That justifies the publication of the present volume, and the volume justifies the criticism of the Christian church by enlightened humanitarians. For the plan and scope of the work I am responsible. The credit of the detail setting forth of the awful story

is due to the gentlemen named. Christianity stands convicted of the most infamous cruelty towards its opponents and its own dissenters, and it is impossible that a religion responsible for such deeds, the inspiring and instigating power which moved human beings to such revolting blood-thirstiness, can be a true system.

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## Introduction.

"The tree is known by its fruit." "Do men gather grapes of thorns, or figs of thistles? Even so, every good tree bringeth forth good fruit; but a corrupt tree bringeth forth evil fruit. A good tree cannot bring forth evil fruit, neither can a corrupt tree bring forth good fruit. Every tree that bringeth not forth good fruit, is hewn down, and cast into the fire. Wherefore by their fruits ye shall know them." These words are said to have been uttered by a man who is reputed to have lived some nineteen hundred years ago and to have been named Jesus. This man is claimed by Christians to have been divine and to have founded their sect. If the rule that he is said to have laid down, that "the tree is known by its fruit," is sound, it is only fair to both Jesus and Christianity to admit the probable validity of the claim that the two stand to each other in the relation of parent and offspring. In fact, there seems to be no ground for reasonable doubt, for when we read certain other aphorisms attributed to Jesus, when we take into consideration his ominous silence on some occasions, and then study the history of the subsequent ages, as faintly outlined in this volume, it is difficult to escape the conviction that the spirit of Jesus' teachings harmonized well with the acts of the men who

for hundreds of years turned Europe and part of America into slaughter-houses. "If any man come to me, and hate not his father, and mother, and wife, and children, and brethren, and sisters, yea, and his own life also, he cannot be my disciple." What an echo of this was heard in the words of Philip II. of Spain of abhorred memory when, at the auto-da-fe at Valladolid on the 8th of October, 1559, the young noble, Carlos de Sessa, said to the king as he passed the throne on the way to the stake, "How can you thus look on and permit me to be burned?" The Most Christian king answered, "I would carry the wood to burn my own son withal, were he as wicked [that is, as unorthodox] as you." Is it unreasonable or unfair to affirm that Philip could legitimately have justified his reply by the words of Jesus, last quoted? The same thought, in another form, found expression in the exclamation of the Catholic Count Egmont, a few hours before the death to which he had been condemned by the vindictiveness and treachery of the same Philip—"Alas! how miserable and frail is our nature, that, when we should think of God only, we are unable to shut out the images of wife and children." If Jesus (God incarnated) was right, if he should be obeyed, what warrant had a dying disciple of his to waste thought on earthly loved ones?

The failure of Jesus to condemn slavery, to set the seal of his disapproval on witchcraft, was responsible for an amount of human suffering that no man or woman can compute. Whether he be now viewed as a god or as a man, the effect is the same, still the tree is known by its fruits. As a

man, so far as these two vital matters are concerned, certainly he was not in advance of his time, and so it is useless to plead, as now many who are Christian but in name do plead, that slavery and witchcraft persecutions were un-Christian. Neither had been put under ban by Jesus, and for long ages they had the unqualified sanction of all who called themselves Christians—how, then, can either the superstition and the persecutions growing out of it or the institution fairly and logically be called un-Christian? But Jesus was supposed to be God, or at the least, an essential third of the godhead, and when that supposition is abandoned, Christianity ceases to be anything but a human development, in the eyes of its adherents, precisely as in the eyes of Rationalists it is only a human development. Those Christians who cling to the divinity of Jesus (and they constitute all but a handful of professing Christendom) in effect say that their God knew what construction would be placed on his words by his followers, and in the light of that knowledge yet uttered them; that he knew just what his followers would do in attempting to force the world to accept his words, and in the light of that knowledge yet uttered them, and that with the Infinite what is foreknown must be designed and foreordained. Still in the face of all this they calmly assert that their god-man or man-god, and his father, with whom they say he was co-existent, are not responsible for the ghastly crimes with which Christians have crimsoned the earth in their endeavor to secure obedience to God's commands as they understood them!

Can there be intellectual and moral confusion worse than this?

Granted that all these crimes against humanity have their primary roots in human weakness, in the passions of hate and revenge, in the lack of sympathy, in delight in inflicting pain, in reckless lust, in greed for wealth, and fame, and dominion—granted all this, and yet what has the Theist gained? Is Man not still, according to his fundamental concept, the child of God, fashioned by him as the vessel of clay is fashioned by the potter, his deeds during every instant of the life of the race known down to their minutest detail by the Creator before the first man breathed, and therefore, if known to the Infinite Wisdom and Power, intended and ordered by the Infinite in Wisdom and Power from the first to the last item of human action? Yea, more, if ordered by the Creator, done by the Creator, for his infinity must include man, and therefore, again, man being but an expression of God, what man seems to do God does.

Granted again, that man's weakness and ferocity made the Inquisition and the holy wars and all that accompanied and supplemented them, and what plea in extenuation will that admission enable the believer to make for Christianity? The question then comes instantly, Why did not Christianity do more—if it did anything—to make this weakness strength and to tame this ferocity? If Christianity was from God and if God hated this hideous reign of torture and murder, why, as a rule, was the fiendishness of the torture and murder in a direct ratio with the perpetrators' fervency of faith



in Christ and God? But if Christianity is purely a human evolution, what warrant is there for the assumption that it was a potent influence for good in the ages of which this book treats? Is there any evidence to show that, upon the whole, it gave wise strength to man and transformed his ferocity into gentleness? Such evidence is conspicuously lacking.

No man of good sense, not driven into a logical corner by the exigencies of an inherited or carelessly accepted false position, would seriously essay to defend the proposition that a religion of exclusive salvation could be aught but a persecuting religion. Make a man's assumed eternal happiness or misery depend upon acceptance of a set of dogmas; teach him that he and those who believe as he does are loved of God and will bask forever in the light of his smile, and that those who believe otherwise are hated of God and will agonize forever in the shadow of his frown; convince him—and starting from this basis nothing is easier—that those who teach the “false doctrines” are jeopardizing the eternal happiness of those he loves, and you have made it almost inevitable that he shall become the enemy of the earthly peace of his fellow-men. Given the opportunity to ostracize and persecute, and nine times in ten he will ostracize and persecute. Unless he learns the lesson, which comparatively few do, that persecution, if it stops short of total destruction, strengthens rather than weakens that which is persecuted, he must persecute and he does persecute. No matter how much bitterness and cruelty he may, with seemingly gratuitous savagery, import into his crusade against

“false” religions, those crusades, at bottom, are defensive measures. Better that millions of men and women die in agony now than that one soul—perhaps that of his child—roast in the fires of hell through all eternity. He is logically bound to make the heretic pay the temporal premium upon the eternal insurance policy of those who are dear to him.

In the light of these indisputable facts, it is clear that those kindred-renouncing words laid at the door of Jesus, which have been already quoted, have in them the germs of persecution and that those germs will spring into noxious active life whenever the word-seeds drop into a soil rich with the manure of credulity and uneducated zeal. If we turn from them to other utterances credited to the Nazarene, we find more and even stronger provocatives to hatred and slaughter. “And he said unto them, Go ye into all the world, and preach the gospel to every creature. He that believeth and is baptized shall be saved; but he that believeth not shall be damned” (Mark xvi., 15, 16). Bitter, bitter, bitter and bloody, is all the fruit that this tree has borne through all the Christian ages. It is not a valid defense to say now that the “oldest Greek manuscripts, and some other authorities” omit these words; if the Bible is God’s book, as all but a few Christians still claim, he permitted the mistranslation to stand until 1881, and all its horrible results to accrue; if, on the other hand, and as all Rationalists hold, the Bible is wholly human in its genesis and effects, its relation to the events that have occurred in the Christian world since it was written is just as much to be care-

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fully considered, and is the most important factor among all the factors that make-up historical Christianity. It is just as true from this point of view as it was from the old point of view, that the tree is known by its fruits. "But those ["howbeit these," version of 1881] mine enemies, which would not that I should reign over them, bring hither, and slay them before me" (Luke xix., 27). It has been objected that Jesus was not speaking here for himself, nor for his "father," but was merely narrating the story of a certain nobleman. These objectors forget that Jesus taught by parables, and that the context shows that, as usual, he intended his hearers to see in the actions of the nobleman an anticipation of his own or of God's under like circumstances. However, this is immaterial, so far as orthodox Christians are concerned; if, as they contend, God wrote or inspired the writing of the Bible, it was his desire and intention that this passage should be interpreted as it was interpreted, and so all the torture and death caused by the misinterpretation, if it was misinterpreted, were parts of his scheme of government. And the tree is known by its fruits.

Turning from Jesus to Paul, we find, "But though we, or an angel from heaven, preach any other gospel unto you than that which we have preached unto you, let him be accursed. As we said before, so say I now again, If any man preach any other gospel unto you than that ye have received, let him be accursed" (Gal. i., 8, 9). "A man that is an heretic, after the first and second admonition, reject; knowing that he that is such, is subverted, and sinneth, being condemned of him-

self" (Titus iii., 10, 11). Here we have the common delusion that one cannot differ from our views and be sincere. "I would they were even cut off which trouble you" (Gal. v., 12). Who shall truthfully say that Christians, when they have had the power to obey the Great Apostle, have been found disobedient? Has not the tree been known by its fruit?

In the Old Testament there is no lack of warrant for all the slaughterings which have stained the lands of Christianity. All are familiar with the terrible command, "Thou shalt not suffer a witch to live." It needs not the slightest argument to show the direct and vital connection of this text with the awful witchcraft persecutions feebly described on the pages of history. Another proscriptive command, not quite so well known, is this: "And he that blasphemeth the name of the Lord, he shall surely be put to death, and all the congregation shall certainly stone him: as well the stranger, as he that is born in the land, when he blasphemeth the name of the Lord, shall be put to death" (Lev. xxiv., 16). And here is another, still less equivocal: "If thy brother, the son of thy mother, or thy son, or thy daughter, or the wife of thy bosom, or thy friend, which is as thine own soul, entice thee secretly, saying, Let us go and serve other gods, which thou hast not known, thou, nor thy fathers; namely, of the gods of the people which are round about you, nigh unto thee, or far off from thee, from the one end of the earth even unto the other end of the earth; thou shalt not consent unto him; nor hearken unto him; neither shall thine eye pity him, neither shalt

thou spare, neither shalt thou conceal him: but thou shalt surely kill him; thine hand shall be first upon him to put him to death, and afterwards the hand of all the people. And thou shalt stone him with stones, that he die" (Deut. xiii., 6 to 10). Has there ever lived a persecutor who would need to ask for more explicit authorization to murder for opinion's sake than the Christian tyrants and torturers found here in the sacred book of their church? And was not the fruit they gathered the fit product of the tree upon which it grew?

Moreover, Christianity is not merely a creed, and that a narrow creed, exclusive and intolerant in its very terms and in its spirit, but it is a stupendous fact in human history. Viewed as a fact, we see, judged by its fruits, its career, having been one of hate and wholesale bloodshed, that the tree was evil and this whether its germ was or was not in the teachings of the Old Testament and of Jesus and Paul. So long as its adherents believed without doubt that it was divine in origin and mission, so long it was a factor of discord and persecution wherever the original Roman tree or any scion of it took root. Not only was it a factor of discord and persecution, but it is a factor of discord and persecution. But so much of the strength of the old tree has gone to the numerous nurslings that, while the ancient poison is still in root and trunk and branch and still exhales from every leaf, it is more or less diluted, and so life is becoming tolerable where its shade is not too dense.

It must not be forgotten that general and vague expressions in favor of love and peace and justice

are of little worth when accompanied by specific commands to destroy those who think differently. It is so easy to love one's neighbor and so easy to tie him to the stake when one has convinced himself that said neighbor is the enemy of one's god. It is so easy to say that one will turn the other cheek when the first is smitten and so easy to burn the heretic alive "for his soul's health," as Kingdon Clifford aptly said. It is so easy to talk of universal love and so easy to manifest individual hate in the name of one's god. Morillon quotes the Duke of Alva as saying that his sanguinary master, Philip II., had replied to a plea for mercy for Count Egmont, with the declaration that he could forgive offenses against himself, "but the crimes committed against God were unpardonable."

When the obsequies for Charles V. took place at Brussels, by order of his son, Philip II., in December, 1558, the most conspicuous object in the procession was "a ship floating apparently upon the waves." Her crew were three allegorical personages, Faith, Hope, and Charity. These, says Motley, "were thought the most appropriate symbols for the man who had invented the edicts, introduced the inquisition, and whose last words, inscribed by a hand already trembling with death, had adjured his son, by his love, allegiance, and hope of salvation, to deal to all heretics the extreme rigor of the law, 'without respect of persons and without regard to any plea in their favor'" (Rise of the Dutch Republic, i., 177).

All the commands to return good for evil and not to kill weigh less than nothing in the scales against one text, "Thou shalt not suffer a witch to live."

Not smooth professions but deeds are the fruits of the tree that show the nature of the tree. Take, to illustrate, the cause of the death of the first wife of Philip II.: "The Duchess of Alva, and other ladies who had charge of her during her confinement, deserted her chamber in order to obtain absolution by witnessing an auto-da-fe of heretics. During their absence the princess partook voraciously of a melon, and forfeited her life in consequence" (Motley). Such was the atmosphere created by unadulterated Christianity that these cultured ladies of the court as naturally went to watch the slow burning to death of men and women whose only offense was unbelief or suspected unbelief as they went to their meals, only in the first instance they expected a greater reward, absolution for the sins that God would pardon—he would not have pardoned an intercession in behalf of the poor heretics. That would have been a crime as great as that against the Holy Ghost, which the Bible says is unforgivable, here and hereafter.

The idea of equal religious liberty is a plant of slow and painful growth. All sectarists who are oppressed think they are in favor of liberty, but generally as soon as they obtain a little power they discover that it is to God's interest to oppress some other sort of sectarists. They are incredibly stupid, for it is impossible to make them see the force of the plain, simple, and unanswerable proposition that if they are not willing to respect the liberty of others there is nowhere a valid basis for their demand for liberty for themselves. This stupidity was one of the most obstinate of

obstacles in the way of the Prince of Orange in his attempts to unite the Netherlands in their struggle with Spain and the Papacy. "Statesman, rather than religionist, at this epoch, he was not disposed to affect a more complete conversion than the one which he had experienced. He was, in truth, not for a new doctrine, but for liberty of conscience. His mind was already expanding beyond any dogmas of the age. The man whom his enemies stigmatized as Atheist and renegade, was really in favor of toleration, and, therefore, the most deeply criminal in the eyes of all religious parties" (Motley, "Rise of the Dutch Republic," Burt's ed., i., 623). Notice how irreducible this stupidity is in the case of Philip de Marnix, Lord of Sainte Aldegonde, who had been the close friend and helper of Orange almost from the beginning. "Was he [Orange] not himself the mark of obloquy among the Reformers because of his leniency to Catholics? Nay, more, was not his intimate councilor, the accomplished Sainte Aldegonde, in despair because the prince refused to exclude the Anabaptists of Holland from the rights of citizenship? At the very moment when William was straining every nerve to unite warring sects, and to persuade men's hearts into a system by which their consciences were to be laid open to God alone—at the moment when it was most necessary for the very existence of the fatherland that Catholic and Protestant should mingle their social and political relations, it was indeed a bitter disappointment for him to see wise statesmen of his own creed unable to rise to the idea of toleration. 'The affair of the Anabaptists,' writes Sainte Aldegonde,



'has been renewed. The prince objects to exclude them from citizenship. He answered me sharply that their yea was equal to our oath, and that we should not press this matter, unless we were willing to confess that it was just for the papists to compel us to a divine service which was against our conscience.' It seems hardly credible that this sentence, containing so sublime a tribute to the character of the prince, should have been indited as a bitter censure, and that, too, by an enlightened and accomplished Protestant. 'In short,' continued Sainte Aldegonde, with increasing vexation, 'I don't see how we can accomplish our wish in this matter. The prince has uttered reproaches to me that our clergy are striving to obtain a mastery over consciences. He praised lately the saying of a monk who was not long ago here, that our pot had not gone to the fire as often as that of our antagonists, but that when the time came it would be black enough. In short, the prince fears that after a few centuries the clerical tyranny on both sides will stand in this respect on the same footing'" (ibid., ii., 394).

Hopelessly stupid Sainte Aldegonde! Sagacious monk! Wise and prophetic William of Orange! If only they could look down over the centuries and see our Sunday law tyrants, our God-in-the-Constitution fanatics, our press gaggers, our children-stealers, and all the rest of the rout of meddlers and persecutors who think they are doing their god a service by making their fellow men and women miserable! But while William of Orange was far in advance of his co-religionists and also of a large proportion of more modern Christians,

his expressed thoughts were not always wholly clear, and no doubt it would be too much to expect that they should have been considering his antecedents and his environments. It would seem, however, that his logical mind should have been saved from making one mistake that the theocrats of to-day continually make. Asked, in terms, "to suppress the exercise of the Roman religion," he insisted upon substituting for "Roman religion" the words, "religion at variance with the gospel." Mr. Motley thinks that this rebuked bigotry, and "left the door open for a general religious toleration." There does not seem to be any good ground for this optimistic opinion. Did not the question occur to the astute mind of Orange, "By what right may I determine for another that any given religion is 'at variance with the gospel'?" And this other question: "If it be universally admitted that a certain religion is 'at variance with the gospel,' how can its suppression be made to harmonize with the principle of equal liberty in matters of belief for all the people of Holland?" The introduction of such a standard must lead to endless wrangling, confusion, and the persecution of every sect whose creed is determined by a majority to be "at variance with the gospel." This position so mistakenly taken by Orange (although it may have been the most advanced that he could then take and maintain any religious liberty) is substantially the position of the theocrats of our own time and country, who expect the courts under their regime to decide in all disputes as to the Bible-regularity of a creed, or form of worship, or non-religious service.

While quoting from the historian Motley, it may be well to use him as another example in showing how difficult it is to get even such exceptionally well informed and liberal men as he to take a sufficiently broad view of the question of freedom in matters of belief. Referring to the conditions prevailing in Holland at this time, he says: "Neither the people nor their leaders could learn that not a new doctrine, but a wise toleration of all Christian doctrines was wanted" (ii., 277). But if no doctrine was wanted, why put in the word "Christian"? Would it not need definition as much as "Catholic," or "Calvinist," or "Lutheran"? And would not the old wrangling continue, and the same mad fight to get on top so as to suppress the non-Christian sects? And did Mr. Motley think that at that time it would have been all right to murder Mohammedans and Jews?

No one could call in question the religiousness of John Lothrop Motley, and yet even he gives evidence occasionally that "this sorry scheme of things" puzzled him somewhat. Once he says: "The history of Alva's administration in the Netherlands is one of those pictures which strike us almost dumb with wonder. Why has the Almighty suffered such crimes to be perpetrated in his sacred name? Was it necessary that many generations should wade through this blood in order to acquire for their descendants the blessings of civil and religious freedom? Was it necessary that an Alva should ravage a peaceful nation with sword and flame—that desolation should be spread over a happy land, in order that the pure and heroic character of a William of Orange should stand

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forth more conspicuously, like an antique statue of spotless marble against a stormy sky?" (ii., 89.) It must indeed be startling to a sincere Theist to find his god appearing to such poor advantage beside a mere man. But Alva's career in the Netherlands was only a brief incident in the terrible "martyrdom of man," a martyrdom which has been going on from the beginning of man's life, in spite of or by the decree of Mr. Motley's God. Which?

There is safety only in the individual decision of all questions of religion and morals. This is the lesson of the ages, the lesson written on every blood-stained and flame-scorched page of human history. The safety and progress of mankind depend upon the repudiation of all priesthoods, the assertion of the right to individually pass upon every question affecting the individual who makes the examination, in affairs of this life or of any other which may be assumed or thought possible.

We cannot do better than close this Introduction with a part of a paragraph found in John Lothrop Motley's "Rise of the Dutch Republic": "It is not without reluctance, but still with a stern determination, that the historian should faithfully record these transactions. To extenuate would be base, to exaggerate impossible. . . . There have been tongues and pens enough to narrate the excesses of the people, bursting from time to time out of slavery into madness. It is good, too, that those crimes should be remembered, and freshly pondered; but it is equally wholesome to study the opposite picture. Tyranny, ever young and ever old, constantly reproducing herself with the

same stony features, with the same imposing mask which she has worn through the ages, can never be too minutely examined, especially when she paints her own portrait, and when the secret history of her guilt is furnished by the confession of her lovers. The perusal of her traits will not make us love popular liberty the less."

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## **D O O M E D !**

Fear not that the tyrants shall rule forever,  
Or the priests of the bloody faith;  
They stand on the brink of the mighty river,  
Whose waves they have tainted with death:  
It is fed from the depths of a thousand dells,  
Around them it foams, and rages, and swells,  
And their swords and their scepters I floating see,  
Like wrecks on the surge of eternity.

—Shelley.

## The Inquisition.

At root the word Inquisition signifies as little of evil as the primitive "inquire," or the adjective "inquisitive"; but as words, like persons, lose their characters by bad associations, so "Inquisition" has become infamous and hideous as the name of an executive department of the Roman Catholic church. It calls up visions of torture, pictures of instruments that strain and break the joints and limbs; of forms racked and writhing with pain; of visages distorted with agony; of cowed tormentors, unctuous spies, intriguing ecclesiastics, sneaking familiars, and perjured witnesses. In the unseemly word Inquisition, so expressive in its nerve-twisting formation, is heard the sound of all the dread machinery of the sacerdotal tribunal it denotes. Speak it and there is heard the knock at the door, the footsteps of the nocturnal visitant; the word of arrest, the tramp through deserted streets to the prison, the sliding of bolts, the sound of shuffling feet dying away in dark passages, the audible silence of the dungeon, the summons to the chamber of torment, the question that is an accusation, the denial, the order for the application of torture, the gasp, the groan, the shriek, and then the "confession," the lie extorted from the lips of suffering, that while bringing no

relief to the victim, sentences to the same fate the members of his household, his relatives and friends. All crimes and all vices are contained in that one word Inquisition—murder, robbery, arson, outrage, torture, treachery, deceit, hypocrisy, cupidity, holiness. No other word in all languages is so hateful as this one that owes its abhorrent preeminence to its association with the Roman Catholic church. Beside it the word abomination is graceful and comely.

1. The Imperial Inquisition was not a tribunal, but a process. Christianity was part of the law of the empire, and the civil officers used inquisitors to detect heretics. Persecuting priests could act only by inciting the officials to “enforce the laws,” as is the case to-day with our Sunday statutes.

2. The Diocesan Inquisition gradually developed out of the Imperial, and this is a warning to us of this age. This Inquisition was an ecclesiastical process or function. “As the penalties visited upon offenders under the codes of Theodosius and Justinian were largely of an ecclesiastical nature, and the bishops were more and more recognized as governmental aids, the civil powers committed the jurisdiction in inquisitorial cases to the bishops in their several dioceses (about 800). The bishops used for this purpose their synodal courts. There the accused were examined. If found guilty, they were instructed and admonished. If they remained obdurate, they were left in the hands of the secular court to be punished under the common law” (Johnson’s *Cyclopedia*, Art. Inquisition). This was substantially the method of procedure in the later inquisitions—the ecclesiastical courts tried and the

civil authorities punished the heretics. They worked in conjunction, and it is ridiculous to claim that the church was guiltless of persecution unto death. In the United States in our day some of the inferior judges are harking back to the old methods by suspending the civil sentences of offenders on condition that they attend religious services for certain lengths of time. Pope Lucius III. (1181-85) at the Synod of Verona (1184) prepared a decree against the heretics of that time. He puts them under perpetual anathema. Laymen are to be delivered into the hands of the secular judges to be punished unless they abjure at once. . . . All the secular authorities are to render every possible aid in the work under pain of excommunication and forfeiture of dignities" (ibid.).

3. "The Papal Inquisition, for which the way was preparing, became independent of the Diocesan, though coexistent in part with it. It was created by special commission, was not permanent, was not an institution" (ibid.). Heresy was spreading rapidly in Southern France at the close of the twelfth century. Innocent III. (1198-1216) sent as papal legates the Cistercians Raineri and Guido into the disaffected district to increase the severity of repressive measures against the Waldenses (1198). In 1200 Peter of Castelnau was made associate inquisitor for Southern France. The powers of the papal legates were increased so as to bring non-compliant bishops within the net. Diego, bishop of Osma, and Dominec, appear on the scene. In 1206 Peter and Raoul went as spies among the Albigenses. Count Raymond of Toulouse abased himself in 1207 before



Peter of Castelnau and promised to extirpate the heretics he had defended. Dominec advised a crusade against the Albigenses (1208). The pope's inquisitors tried, condemned, and punished offenders, inflicting the death penalty itself with the concurrence of the civil powers. How the crusade urged by Dominec was conducted will appear further along.

4. The Inquisition was destined to become a permanent institution. The vigor and success of the Papal Legatine Inquisition assured this. The Fourth Lateran Council took the initial steps (1215). Innocent III. presided. The synodal courts were given something of the character of inquisitorial tribunals. Synods were to be held in each province annually, and violations of the Lateran canons rigorously punished. "The condemned were to be left in the hands of the secular power, and their goods were to be confiscated. The secular powers were to be admonished and induced, and, should it prove necessary, were to be compelled to the utmost of their power to exterminate all who were pointed out as heretics by the church. Any prince declining thus to purge his land of heresy was to be excommunicated. If he persisted, complaint was to be made to the pope, who was then to absolve his vassals from allegiance and allow the country to be seized by Catholics who should exterminate the heretics. Those who joined in the crusade for the extermination of heretics were to have the same indulgence as the crusaders who went to the Holy Land" (ibid.) In the face of this inexpugnable record how futile it is for modern church apologists to pretend that Rome did not shed blood,

was not responsible for the atrocities of the Inquisition! "The Council of Toulouse (1229) adopted a number of canons tending to give permanent character to the Inquisition as an institution" (ibid.). It made or indicated the machinery for questioning, convicting, and punishing. Heretics were to be excluded from medical practice; the houses in which they were found were to be razed to the ground; they were to be delivered to the archbishop, bishop, or local authorities; forfeiture of public rights could be removed only by a papal dispensation; any one who allowed a heretic to remain in his country, or who shielded him in the slightest degree, would forfeit his land, personal property, and official position; the local magistracy must join in the search for heretics; "men from the age of fourteen, and women from twelve, were to make oath and renew it every two years, that they would inform on heretics" (ibid.). This made every person above those ages a bloodhound to track to torture and death his or her dearest friends and relatives. Local councils added to these regulations, always in the direction of severity and injustice.

5. The organic development of the Papal Inquisition proceeded rapidly. It was found that bishops, for various reasons, would not always enforce the cruel canons of the councils. So Gregory IX. (1227-41) in August, 1231, put the Inquisition under the control of the Dominicans, an order especially created for the defense of the church against heresy. Dominican inquisitors were appointed for Aragon, Germany, and Austria (1232) and for Lombardy and Southern France (1233)

They were independent of the bishops. The accused were not confronted with the witnesses against them. "Confession was wrung from them by torture. The torture of those suspected of heresy was sanctioned by Innocent IV. (1252). The torture was at the beginning applied by the civil authorities, but as the requisite secrecy was impossible with this arrangement, the Inquisition subsequently took the matter into its own hands, under direction of Urban IV. (1261-64)" (ibid.). This form of the Inquisition, what is sometimes called the "ecclesiastico-political," was established in a number of the European states.

6. The ecclesiastico-political Inquisition was established in Aragon in the fourteenth century. But this Inquisition was, in Spain, overshadowed by the later one originating in Castile. They differed somewhat, but the victims of both were heretics, not primarily political offenders in the case of the Inquisition of Castile, as is falsely asserted by church apologists. Nicholas Eymerich was the central inquisitor of the Aragon institution, and to him "we owe the 'Directorium Inquisitorum,' which is a voucher for the substantial unity of the spirit and method of the Inquisition under its two forms" (ibid.). Cardinal Mendoza, archbishop first of Seville, and later of Toledo, was the first to move for a permanent ecclesiastical tribunal for the extirpation of heresy. He incited Ferdinand and Isabella to ask the pope for an authorization for such a court. Sixtus IV. issued a bull (Nov. 1, 1478) giving them authority "to appoint and depose inquisitors, and to possess themselves of the property of the condemned for the royal treasury" (ibid.).

Sept. 17, 1480, the Dominicans Morillo and St. Martin were made inquisitors. Very soon the work of destroying the Jews was proceeding with dispatch. Some fled to Rome and complained to the pope. In 1481 Sixtus wrote to Ferdinand rebuking the inquisitors for their severity, but in 1483 he urged the sovereigns to push on in the good work, and in that year he appointed Thomas de Torquemada Inquisitor-General of Castile and Aragon. This savage was confessor to the queen and had exerted all his powers to induce her to consent to the persecution of heretics. In the light of this appointment it is very easy to see the real Sixtus IV., and to realize that the letter written to Ferdinand in 1481 was buncombe. Terrorized by the inquisitor, the Spanish sovereign on March 30, 1492, signed the edict for the expulsion of the Jews. The Spanish Inquisition was introduced into Portugal (1557) after a protracted resistance, into the Netherlands, and into America shortly after the discovery of the country. Portugal carried it into the East Indies. In Portugal, Pombal (1750-82) so modified the Inquisition that the witnesses' names must be given to the accused, he was permitted to have a lawyer, and to confer with him. "John VI [of Portugal] (1792-1826) abolished the Inquisition both at home and in the colonies. Don Miguel (1828-34) showed a strong disposition to restore it, but was not able to do so. The world over, the Inquisition, in both forms, has fallen. Whatever may be the difference in their details, the historical conditions of its life in both forms are substantially the same" (*ibid.*). In Spain the clerics fought for it to the last. Count Aranda,



minister of state, limited its powers in 1770. Jerome Bonaparte abolished it in 1808. Ferdinand VII. restored it in 1814. "In the revolution of 1820 one of the first objects of the popular fury was the Casa Santa, the palace of the Inquisition at Madrid. The tribunal itself was again abolished by the Cortes. The clerical or 'apostolic' party considered the restoration of the Inquisition a matter of vital necessity and labored energetically to bring it about. In 1825 a junta favorable to the Inquisition came in, and in 1826 the Inquisition was reestablished in Valencia. After the death of Ferdinand VII. (1833) the law of July 15, 1834, again abolished it, and by a royal edict of 1835 its property was confiscated and devoted to the payment of the public debt" (ibid.).

From this outlined sketch of the Inquisition, its rise and fall, we pass to details of its methods and proceedings.

Subordinate officers called "familiars" arrested and brought the accused to the place of judgment. Its ecclesiastical and temporal prerogatives made the position of familiar one much desired. The familiar must be of untainted Christian ancestry, and he was sworn to secrecy. The holding of heretical opinions or conniving at such holding, astrology, fortune-telling, witchcraft, blasphemy, offenses against the Holy Office or its officials, insincere "conversion" from Judaism and Mohammedanism, and unbelief, were some of the "crimes" into which the Inquisition inquired and barbarously punished. Rarely did a person incriminated escape. "The familiars, the holy Hermandad (the government police fraternity), and the Fraternity

of the Conciada followed pitilessly on the tracks of all who had been designated by the Inquisition" (ibid). Suspicion was itself sufficient to drive away the kindred and friends of the unfortunate.

Sympathy for his person would be interpreted as sympathy with his heresy. His family and domestics could testify against him but not for him. After the first examination enough of his property was confiscated to cover the expenses of the preliminary investigation. His head was shaved, and he was put in a dark prison. If he confessed at once—whether guilty or not—he was a penitent and escaped death, but he and all his kindred were dishonored and could hold no place of public trust. Denying the charge, and proof failing to be forthcoming, he was discharged, but remained under the surveillance of the familiars, with the result usually that he was arrested a second time, and then came the long-drawn out proceedings of the Inquisition. Refusing to confess at the first hearing, he was remanded to prison. "After the lapse of several months he was required to make oath before the crucifix that he would acknowledge the whole truth. If he refused to do this, he was condemned without further evidence. If he took the oath, leading questions were put to him well calculated to entangle him. The legal counsel was not to act in the interest of his client, nor see him in private, but was to urge him to the confession of the truth" (ibid.). The witnesses were unknown to him, there was no cross-examination, their unsupported testimony was accepted, no matter how disreputable their characters. The informer could testify against him, and two hearsay-witnesses were

equal to one eye-witness! Sometimes the proceedings dragged for years, the prisoner's property, or that of other heretics, paying the bill, and he remaining immured in the most horrible of dungeons. If he persisted in his refusal to confess, he was subjected to three grades of torture—the cord, the water, and the fire. If he confessed under the first torture, he was tortured again to ascertain his motives in confessing, and a third time to induce him to betray his accomplices and sympathizers. Of course he would usually confess to the guilt of anybody the inquisitors wanted to get hold of, and that testimony was all that was needed to convict his friend or a perfect stranger to him. Then he was left to suffer without medical care until the time came for his death, if he was to die. Whether he suffered imprisonment, exile, or death, his property was confiscated and his family were infamous forever. If he both confessed and abjured his errors he was compelled to wear for a certain time a peculiar garb that advertised his infamy. If he laid it off before the time expired he was punished as impenitent. After he had worn it the prescribed period, it was hung up in the church, labeled with his name and offense. Relapse into the crime was equivalent to death. If he did not confess under all the torture, he found himself in a still worse prison. "If even this produced no results, the opposite policy was tried. Relatives and friends were permitted to see him; the hope was excited in his mind that a penitent confession might yet secure pardon or pity for him" (*ibid.*). The dead as well as the living were tried. "If forty years had passed between his decease and his conviction, his

heirs retained his property, but were infamous and incapable of bearing public office. If the remains of the suspected dead could be found, they were burned; if not, the burning in effigy was substituted." From this the reader will perceive that the burning in effigy was no mere bit of melodramatic spite-work; it ruined millions of people and correspondingly enriched the murderous church. Following the minor horrors came the culminating horror of the auto-da-fe, the slow and ceremonious burning to death of those marked for destruction. Often scores if not hundreds were sacrificed at once in these Christian holocausts. The ghastly exhibitions were attended by men, and women, and children; by peasant, and priest, and prince; by tradesman, and soldier, and king; by the learned, and the ignorant; by the fanatic, and the hypocrite. An expression of sympathy for the victims was a death-warrant; from this school graduated adepts in cruelty and crime.

Torquemada built the Inquisition on a national foundation of bigotry and cruelty. As early as the seventh century the ecclesiastical synods were practically parliaments of the realm as well as councils of the church (Milman, "Latin Christianity," London, 1854, i., 380). The early laws against heresy were more harsh in Spain than in any other country in Europe (ibid., i., 381). "In Spain," says Buckle, "the theological element became not so much a component of the national character, but rather the character itself" ("Civilization," ii., 14). This shows again how vain it is to claim that the horrors of the Inquisition in Spain should be debited to other causes than Christian bigotry. Philip



II., who reigned for more than forty years from 1555, said that "it is better not to reign at all than to reign over heretics," and the Spanish people zealously helped him put the precept into practice. The Protestant Reformation, which convulsed the nations of Northern Europe, was very soon racked and burned out of Spain. The superstitious people clung to the Inquisition in spite of the attempts of enlightened monarchs and ministries in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries to abolish it. The church had done its work thoroughly—it had poisoned the very well-springs of law and of progress.

The Spanish inquisitorial court appointed by Ferdinand and Isabella began its work by the issuance of an edict (Jan. 2, 1481) giving directions regarding the arrest of heretics. Within four days six persons had been burned; by November, 278 had perished in the autos-da-fe at Seville. Soon 2,000 were burned, many more burned in effigy, and 17,000 suffered lesser punishments, such as imprisonment for life, confiscation, and exile. Torquemada was appointed in 1483, and he rapidly organized the Inquisition throughout Spain, especially at Seville, Cordova, Jaca, and Ciudad Real. The victims were principally nominally Christianized Jews. He ruled for eighteen years. In that time between 9,000 and 10,000 were burned alive, and 7,000 in effigy, while about 100,000 were punished in other ways (*ibid.*). To this number should be added those tortured to extort confessions, but who were acquitted for lack of evidence. These were the direct victims; the indirect were, of course, vastly greater in number, including the families of the

slain and imprisoned, who suffered inexpressible mental agonies and were thrown out penniless in a land of savage enemies. "Diego de Deza, a Dominican friar, the friend of Columbus, archbishop of Seville, Ferdinand's confessor, and the preceptor of his son, John, succeeded Torquemada as grand inquisitor (1499). . . . An insurrection excited by the extreme measures of the inquisitors led to his removal (1507). Under his administration 1,664 were burned alive, 832 in effigy, and 32,456 punished in other ways (*ibid.*, referring to Herzog, *Real-Ency.*, xviii., 332). Cardinal Francis Ximenes de Cisneros was the third inquisitor-general (1507-17). "In those ten years Llorente (*iv.*, 255, ed. 1818) computes that 2,536 were burned alive, 1,368 in effigy, and 47,263 were punished in other ways" (*ibid.*). This number includes those who suffered in the Inquisition in Aragon, which was not under Ximenes' jurisdiction. "The Inquisition in Spain long maintained its original vigor. Philip II. (1555-98) used it with effect in the crushing out of Protestantism" (*ibid.*). Of some of the effects of this work Prescott ("Ferdinand and Isabella," *ii.*, 450), says: "The tear of sympathy, wrung out by the sight of mortal agonies, was an offense to be expiated by humiliating penance. The most frightful maxims were deliberately engrafted into the code of morals. Any one, it is said, might conscientiously kill an apostate wherever he could meet him. There was some doubt whether a man might slay his own father, if a heretic or Infidel, but none whatever as to his right, in that event, to take away the life of his son or of his brother. These maxims were not a dead letter, but in the most active operation, as

the sad records of the dread tribunal too well prove."

In the admonition of the apostle Paul to the Corinthians, to "purge out the old leaven, that ye may be a new lump," and in his instruction to "deliver such a one unto Satan for the destruction of the flesh, that the spirit may be saved in the day of the Lord Jesus," justification for the establishment of the Inquisition is believed to reside. There is no evil thing for which precedent cannot be found in the Old or the New Testament. The inquisitors professed to find such precedent in both Testaments. One Luis de Paramo, cited by Dr. Jose Bermudez, author of the "Triumphs of the Peruvian Holy Office," declares that "God was the first inquisitor," and proceeds to the demonstration as follows: First, he says, Adam was cited—"Adam ubi es—Adam, where art thou?" teaching thus to all future tribunals of the Holy Inquisition that where the summons is wanting the process is null and void. Adam presented himself, and God began his interrogations, judging the criminal by himself and in secret. (Who else was there to hear?) Exactly the same form followed the inquisitors, having taken it from God himself. The dress of skins which God made for Adam and Eve, says Paramo, is notoriously the pattern of the sanbenito which they put upon the condemned heretics. The crosses that were figured upon it in the beginning were straight, but immediately they became inclined, taking the form of that of St. Andrew, to indicate that those who bear them have wandered from the rectitude of the faith of Christ. Then, God having clothed Adam in this dress of infamy, figuring that man by his sin has made

himself like the beasts, he expelled him from the terrestrial paradise; and from this is derived the custom of the Inquisition in confiscating the property of the heretics. The propriety of this custom, Paramo argues, cannot be doubted, for does not Plato say that without virtue the goods of the earth are pernicious for their possessors, being an incitement for their passions and instruments of their crimes? Finally, concludes this defender of the Inquisition, "Adam was likewise deprived of the command he had over the brutes. From this is deduced that the heretic loses all natural rights, civil and political, that his children cease to be under his dominion, his slaves become free of his control, and his vassals released from the obedience which before was his due."

Another panegyrist of the Inquisition, the Rev. Father Macedo (1676), traces the divine origin of the Holy Office still farther and higher, for he declares that the expulsion of Lucifer from heaven was the first recorded auto-da-fe!

When the last avowed Jew or Mohammedan had been eliminated from Spain by the Edict of Expulsion, or had become an avowed Christian through the process of conversion and baptism, it might be supposed that the work of bigotry was finished in that country. On the contrary, it was only fairly under way.

Of the 235,000 Jews in the kingdom 165,000 had emigrated, 50,000 submitted to baptism, and 20,000 suffered death. In the experiences of the emigrants it would seem that the sum of human misery had been reached. "For some of them," wrote Rabbi Joseph, whose father was one of the exiles, "the



Turks killed to take out the gold which they had swallowed to hide it; some of them hunger and the plague consumed, and some of them were cast naked by the captains on the isles of the sea; and some of them were sold for men-servants and maid-servants in Genoa and its villages, and some of them were cast into the sea. . . . For there were among those who were cast into the isles of the sea upon Provence a Jew and his old father fainting from hunger, for there was no one to break unto him in a strange country. And the man went and sold his son for bread to restore the soul of the old man. And it came to pass, when he returned to his old father, that he found him fallen down dead; and he rent his clothes. And he returned unto the baker to take his son, and the baker would not give him back; and he cried out with a loud and bitter cry for his son, and there was none to deliver." They were learning what it was to live in a world that served its redeemer by persecuting the people of his race.

Penniless, friendless, and despised, the expatriated Jew probably thought that he was suffering the limit; but worse befell his brethren who had chosen conversion to exile. Bigotry had robbed him of home and country, but it left him freedom of belief except in so far as it was curtailed by his own rabbis. The converted Jew in Spain had surrendered that, and was to lose the rest.

The king of Spain had sworn to purge the land of Infidels and Jews, and his Christian contemporaries applauded him for the fidelity with which he kept his oath; he had never agreed to persecute professed Catholics, so that with the disap-

pearance of Jews and Mohammedans the business of heretic-hunting, so congenial and profitable to the wolves of the church, was threatened with stagnation. All of the Jews remaining within his domain had been baptized, which to a reasonably Catholic monarch would have appeared all that was necessary. To the New Christians, also, it may have looked like the final consummation. The church took a different view. Although no means were taken to instruct in the Catholic faith the recruits whom it had baptized by thousands, the church found grounds for complaint in the fact that the "Conversos" exhibited only a nominal adherence to Catholicism, neither causing their children to be baptized nor observing the fasts and ordinances of the church. It was found, too, that, as New Christians, the Jews were as thrifty as they had been before the conversion, and got together property in a way that excited the envy and cupidity of born Catholics. In a corrupt monarchy and church, their wealth enabled them to hold high civil and ecclesiastical offices.

The Inquisition, not at first officially established in Castile by imperial fiat, saw fat pickings among these wealthy converts. Naturally one of the first appeals was made to race hatred. Fray Alonso de Espina, to whom is ascribed a large share in organizing persecution in Spain, aroused public excitement against the Jews by his sermons, in one of which he cried out: "Some are heretics and Christian perverts, others are Jews, others Saracens, others devils. There is no one to investigate the errors of the heretics. The ravening wolves, O Lord, have entered thy flock, for the shepherds

are few; many are hirelings, and as hirelings they care only for shearing and not for feeding thy sheep." De Espina fostered the belief among the ignorant that the Jews murdered Christian children, and when in 1454 a child was robbed and murdered at Valladolid and the body scratched up by dogs, he asserted that the Jews had ripped out the child's heart, had burnt it, and, by mingling the ashes with wine, had made an unholy sacrament. A confession of certain Jews was obtained by torture, but the magistrates rejected the testimony so extorted, and they escaped.

This De Espina, though a man distinguished for learning, had a gift for lying that made him the Munchausen of the pulpit. To stimulate hatred for the Jews he raked together, from the chronicles of all Europe, the fabulous stories of their slaying Christian children in their unholy rites, of their poisoning wells and fountains, of their starting conflagrations, and of all other horrible acts that would make them abhorred; adding that the Jewish law commands them to slay Christians and to despoil them whenever practicable—a law which they obey, he asserts, with quenchless hatred and insatiable thirst for revenge. But his boldest flight was his picture of the coming of Antichrist, with the Jews for his supporters. Alexander the Great, he declared, shut the Jews up in the mountains of the Caspian, adjoining the realms of the Great Khan of Cathay. There, between the castles of Gog and Magog, confined by an enchanted wall, they have multiplied until now they are numerous enough to fill twenty-four kingdoms. When Antichrist comes they will break loose and rally around

him as their promised messiah and will worship him as their God, and with their united aid he will overrun the earth. By such imposture as this was a healthy dislike for the Jews created and the way for the Inquisition prepared; for the priests never failed to declare that the New Christians, the Conversos, or converted Jews, were insincere and still practiced in secret their horrid rites. The people responded with an occasional massacre of the Jews.

The establishment of the Inquisition as a co-ordinate branch of the Spanish government was not effected without resistance. Its enemies, the Judaizing Christians, were many and strenuous. The inquisitors in the fifteenth century set themselves up at Seville, first at the convent of San Pablo, which speedily became too small to hold its many prisoners, and then in the great fortress of Triana, the stronghold of the city, whose enormous dimensions and numberless dungeons fitted it for the purposes of the religious bandits and plunderers. On the establishment of the Inquisition as an imperial affair, the leading citizens of Seville, headed by a wealthy Christian convert from Judaism, called a meeting and organized a vigilance committee of a hundred men whose duty it should be to slay the inquisitors on making their first arrest. How salutary the work of such a committee might have proved was never learned; for it happened that a daughter of the leader of the plot was mistress to one of the Christian inquisitors, and that she betrayed her father to her lover—an act equivalent to sending him to the stake. As a result the most important members of the committee were arrested, conveyed to the fortress



of Triana, and brought out to be the central figures of the spectacle called an auto-da-fe. The father of the girl was burned in the second auto. The triumph of the Inquisition in this initial combat encouraged its promoters to such an extent that they constructed in the Campo del Tablada a "brasero," or burning-place, whose foundations were so massively laid that they can be traced to this day, although that was in the year of grace 1481. The victory was followed by an exodus from Seville of converted Jews numbering upwards of eight thousand, but 300 stayed to perish by fire.

The Inquisition was spread by means of peripatetic organizers who went about setting up tribunals either temporary or permanent, as circumstances might advise. Thus Dr. Francisco de la Fuente was transferred from the tribunal at Ciudad Real to second with his experience the efforts of Fray Nuno de Arevalo, prior of the Geronimite convent at Guadalupe, to purify that locality of heresy. Within a year (1485) they held in the cemetery before the doors of the monastery seven autos-da-fe, in which were burned a heretical monk, fifty-two New Christians, forty-eight dead bodies, and twenty-five effigies of fugitives, while sixteen were condemned to perpetual imprisonment and others unnumbered sent to the galleys or penanced with the sanbenito for life. This probably included all of the Judaizers who had property to be confiscated for the benefit of the Holy Office; those not worth plucking were ordered out of the district by Inquisitor-General Deza a few years later.

Resting on the crown for its authority, with all the resources of the state at its disposal, the Inqui-

sition became in a measure independent of the Holy See—that is to say, of the pope at Rome—and it asked very little advice of the crown. It held, in fact, that the state was subordinate to the Holy Office. The state admitted the claim so far as causes for heresy were concerned; and the Holy Office needed only to accuse a citizen of heresy, no matter what his offense, to remove him from the jurisdiction of the state altogether. Future collisions between the Inquisition and the crown were to occur over the question whether all crimes were not in the last analysis heresy, and therefore within the jurisdiction of the Holy Office. Every member of the police and all magistrates, indeed, all public officials, took an oath to assist any inquisitor who might come among them to exterminate all whom he should designate as heretics. The inquisitor opening up a new field for the establishment of a tribunal must have the entire population assembled to listen to a sermon by him, after which they were required to swear on the cross and the gospels to help the Holy Office and not to impede it in any manner or on any pretext; and it was heresy, punishable with perpetual imprisonment, for any individual either to refuse to take the oath or to violate it when taken. In this way were the inhabitants of Spain, to the last man, though he might be a heretic, bound to the service of the Inquisition.

The oath whereby the mayor of a city or the viceroy of a colony acknowledged his fealty was framed as follows:

“Your Excellency swears and promises by your faith and word, as a true and Catholic viceroy,

appointed by his Catholic majesty [here occurs the title of the reigning monarch] that you will defend with all your power the Catholic faith, held and believed by the Holy Mother Church Apostolic of Rome, the preservation and increase of it, that you will persecute and cause to be persecuted all heretics and apostates, enemies of the Church, and that you will give and order to be given the favor and aid necessary to the Holy Office of the Inquisition and its ministers, so that heretics, disturbers of our Christian religion, be apprehended and punished in conformity to justice and the sacred canons, without any omission on the part of your excellency, nor exception of any persons, whatever may be their rank or quality." And His Excellency answered: "All this I swear and promise by my faith and word."

The oath taken by the people with raised hands pledged them thus:

"I swear by God and Holy Mary and by the sign of the cross and the words of the holy gospels, that I will favor and defend and assist the holy Catholic faith and the Holy Inquisition, its officers and ministers, and that I will declare and discover all heretics whatsoever, abettors, defenders, and concealers of them, disturbers and obstructors of the said Holy Office, and that I will not give them favor, nor help, nor concealment; but that immediately that I know them I will reveal and denounce them to the seniors inquisitors; and should I act differently may God so punish me as those deserve who wilfully perjure themselves."

The sedentary or stationary tribunal originally consisted of three members called "inquisitors," two

of them ecclesiastics, and one a lawyer. The lawyer was there to give the illusion of legality to the proceedings by guiding the clerics, who were presumed to know no law. It soon became necessary to add to the number a functionary called the fiscal, or prosecuting officer. The subordinates were receivers of confiscations, alguazils or arresting officers, with others variously denominated notaries, secretaries, and clerks. The familiars, who were numerous, worked on the outside as spies and informers. Often the inquisitors, who were appointed by the king, came from a distance and placed the inhabitants under what the latter could only regard as foreign rule. The principal offices were hereditary, and do not appear to have been forfeitable by reason of crime. Joseph del Olmo, a notary of the Valencia tribunal, was implicated with his son Jusepe in the murder of his fellow-secretary, but he escaped punishment, and on his death was succeeded by his son and accomplice. As one of the inquisitor-generals said, the Inquisition required all sorts of men for its various activities.

The building, a fortress, castle, palace, or monastery, where the tribunal of the Inquisition sat, furnished lodgings for the inquisitors and for as many others of the officials as could be accommodated. The greater part of the building, evidently, was included in the "secreto," which consisted of the audience-chamber, the secret prisons, and the torture-chamber. Most secret of all was the record-room, an apartment jealously guarded to prevent the abstraction and destruction of records and documents. Torquemada ordered that the secreto



should be trebly locked and have three keys, each in the hands of a different official, so that no document might be taken out by one except in the presence of the others. As an exception to the proverb concerning honor among thieves, the money chest was kept in the secreto.

The audience-chamber of the Inquisition, where the examinations took place in the strictest secrecy, also had three locks and keys. It was accessible only to privileged officials and to persons summoned. Those summoned to identify a prisoner were introduced behind a lattice-work where they could see without revealing themselves to the person accused. Lea, in his "History of the Inquisition in Spain," says: "The inquisitors, of course, were the superior officials of the tribunal. They were the judges, with practically unlimited power over the lives and fortunes and honor of all whom they summoned before them, until they were gradually restricted by the growing centralization of the Suprema [the Supreme Council]. To the people they were the incarnation of the dreaded Holy Office, regarded with more fear and veneration than bishop or noble, for all the powers of church and state were placed at their disposal. They could arrest and imprison at will; with their excommunication they could, at a word, paralyze the arm of all secular officials, and, with their interdict [the cessation of religious privileges], plunge whole communities into despair. Such a concentration of secular and spiritual authority, guarded by so little limitation and responsibility, has never, under any other system, been entrusted to fallible human nature."

We know what excesses of oppression and injustice are committed by men clothed with authority to be exercised under the strictest limitations. If we will endeavor to imagine what they would do with all restrictions removed, we shall achieve an imperfect apprehension of the atrocities that characterized the rule of the Inquisitors. The imagination would fail to comprehend them all as developed by those brutal bigots.

Other and humbler officials of the tribunals were the nuncio, or messenger, who carried dispatches to the Suprema; the portero, who served citations, notices of autos, decrees, etc.; the jailer or alcaide, who was responsible for the safe-keeping of prisoners; the chaplain, who celebrated mass every morning before the inquisitors took up the business of the day; and a physician who rendered to inmates the services made necessary by the filthy condition of the cells, and who was also present before and after "the question" to determine what degree of torture the strength of the victim would enable him to endure or survive, or how long it might be continued, and to revive him in case the punishment had been carried to the verge of death. The doctor, whom, in those days of "pastoral medicine," priests held in light esteem, was expected to serve for nothing or for a small salary, and he did not share the immunities and the emoluments that made the other positions prizes to be coveted by criminals and rascals. Sometimes the medical attendant was a surgeon, and his estate was even lower, for he was a barber as well as leech and sawbones, and very likely served without pay. Women in all conditions, little children, and men,

their lives menaced by physical torture and by the insalubrious atmosphere of their unclean cells, had little assistance in the fight against disease and death.

All of the offices of the Inquisition were for sale. The king profited by controlling the higher ones, and the tribunal peddled the lesser ones, especially the office of familiar, as a means of raising money. In 1641 a familiarship was worth fifteen hundred ducats—\$2,100. There were qualifications for the office, and the applicant underwent interrogatories as to his possession of them. If he failed to qualify, the office would cost him more, for he must purchase dispensations for his shortcomings. A good moral character and a clean record were not among the qualities required.

The "Hermidad" is frequently mentioned in connection with the Holy Office. It was a religious confraternity, the bulk of whose membership was formed by the familiars, but which was open to other officials of the Inquisition. Its organization dates, probably, from the year 1500. It attained its greatest strength about one hundred years later. A large membership fee was exacted, and the candidate, whose initiation was attended with ceremonial, made oath to peril his life in executing the commands of the Holy Office, and to denounce all heretics. The organization turned out in a body at the autos-da-fe, its strength, which in some places exceeded five hundred, aiding the Inquisition to impress its power on the people. The Hermidad survived the Inquisition, and Fernando VII. of Spain sought its assistance in restoring the departing glories of that institution. He only

brought the order into disrepute, and the insignia with which he decorated its members were insulted even by the ecclesiastical authorities.

As if the swarms of familiars in the service of the Inquisition were not enough to harass the subjects of the Spanish monarchs, there was yet another class of spies and detectives, unconnected with the Inquisition officially, who worked for their own hand, on commission. They were called "delators," and they served God, the king, and the holy Catholic faith by furnishing information as to confiscated property which the receiver of the tribunal had failed to locate. Under Ferdinand they were promised sometimes one-third and sometimes one-half of all they should unearth; and sometimes they got it and at other times they did not, for Ferdinand violated as many agreements as he kept, if not more. As with other departments we get a view of pious corruption and rascality in following the development of this branch of the work of pillage carried on by the Inquisition. By collusion between the delator and the receiver, the latter could overlook parcels of confiscated property, and even point out its location. The delator would then report it as a discovery of his own, and share his commission with the receiver. The greed of the king in cutting down commissions greatly reduced the profits of delating, and it did not flourish as a calling after the first quarter of the sixteenth century.

The royal and ecclesiastical prisons of the centuries covered by the history of the Inquisition were unwholesome and filthy, but in this respect they could hardly have equaled the dungeons of



the Inquisition. Those at Palermo were constructed in subterranean caverns, without light or drainage. At Toledo they must have been as bad, for Mari Rodriguez, in 1552, after lying in one of them for nine months with a year-old baby, appealed to the tribunal for removal, as her cell was utterly dark and she and her companions suffered from sickness. Her pitiless captors replied that what she needed was to discharge her conscience and save her soul. The prisoners died in their cells by scores, and their bodies or effigies were burned at the next jail delivery called an auto-da-fe. In Valladolid twelve, and in Madrid eight, whose death, probably hastened by torture, had occurred in prison, were burned at a single auto.

The prisons of Llerena and Jaen in 1506 were described by a contemporaneous memorial as horrible dens, overrun with rats, snakes, and other vermin, where the wretched captives sickened in despair and were starved by the embezzlement of a large portion of the moneys allowed for their support; no physician was permitted to attend the sick, and the attendants treated them like dogs. Lea, who makes due allowance for "rhetorical exaggeration," imagines that this description is applicable to Cordova under Lucero, and concludes that matters were not much better at Seville.

When cells were insecure, the prisoners were kept in chains, thus increasing their misery. In some cases torture was made perpetual by the use of a gag, removed only to allow the prisoner to eat; or by a device called the "pie de amigo," which is described as an iron fork or crotch, fitted to the chin and fastened to the neck, to prevent

any movement of the head. The agony caused by the rigidity of the appliance must have been unspeakable; it was inflicted in pure malignity, as the device served no purpose but that of torture, being affixed to prisoners already condemned. Escape from prison was regarded as confession of guilt, the inquisitors holding, hypocritically, that prisoners had been assured of receiving only justice. If recaptured, the fugitive was treated with greater cruelty; if not, he was burned in effigy and held to be an impenitent heretic, and all his possessions were forfeited.

"From the moment of arrest until delivery to the jailer, the prisoner was not allowed to exchange a word with any one but the officials, and this was continued with the same strictness when he was within the walls, so far as concerned the outer world, to which he was as one already in the tomb. He could learn nothing of those whom he held dear, nor could they conjecture his fate until, after perhaps the lapse of years, he appeared in an auto-da-fe as one destined to the stake or to the galleys or to perpetual prison. It would be impossible to compute the sum of human misery thus wantonly inflicted by the Inquisition during its centuries of existence—misery for which the only excuse was that communication with friends might aid in his defense. According to inquisitorial theory, the presumption of guilt was so absolute that all measures were justified which would hinder fraudulent defense" (Lea, ii., 514).

And yet for the Inquisition to plead this excuse for secrecy was to couple mendacity with cruelty, since no defense, fraudulent or genuine, could save

the accused, when conviction would further the ends of the Holy Office.

The tribunals of the Inquisition were of three kinds—sedentary, ambulatory, and temporary. The sedentary ones were permanent. Those of Spain were located at Toledo, Seville, Valladolid, Madrid (technically known as Corte), Granada, Cordova, Murcia (the same as Cartagena), Llerena, Cuenca, Santiago (also known as Galicia), Logrono, and Canaries, all belonging to Castile; and Saragossa, Valencia, Barcelona, and Majorca, under the crown of Aragon. Other permanent tribunals tributary to the Central Committee, or Suprema, of the Spanish Inquisition were those of Sicily, Sardinia, Mexico, Lima, and Cartagena de las Indias. After drawing their salaries, voting themselves gratuities, allowing for embezzlements by those who handled the funds, deducting expenses for maintenance and for the amusements and gratifications of the inquisitors, the officials of these tributary tribunals sent the proceeds of their fines and confiscations to the Suprema in Spain. Ambulatory tribunals consisted of inquisitors, usually hunting in pairs, sent out from the permanent tribunals, who went wherever game promised to be plenty. The two harpies took into their counsels a third, he being a resident of the place. They then published their proclamation, calling for confessions and accusations, pronouncing a curse on the disobedient, and proceeded to business. If they had come only to try a special case, they moved on when they had disposed of it. If sufficient business was developed to justify a temporary tribunal, they established one and remained until its offi-

cials had been appointed and installed. They quartered themselves on the habitants, transformed a local convent, church, or monastery into a court room, and made use of the ecclesiastical or civil prisons. When the tribunal was to become temporary or permanent, they fixed upon the building best suited to its purposes, turned the occupants into the streets, and took possession in the name of Jesus Christ and the Holy Office.

As many heretics were sentenced to the galleys, these being war vessels propelled by oars, there had to be an "Inquisidor de las galeras" to preserve the rowers from heresy. All arrested by him were delivered to the nearest tribunal when the galleys came into port. The first inquisitor of the galleys was appointed in 1571 to serve with the fleet of Papal, Venetian, and Spanish galleys, organized by the Catholic League, which in October of that year defeated the Turks in the battle of Lepanto, in Greece. In 1622 the office had become "inquisitor del mar," inquisitor of the sea. The inquisitor-general appointed sub-delegates to accompany the army, with the powers of an inquisitor.

Temporary tribunals existed at Alcaraz, Avila, Balaguer, Barbastro, Barcelona, Burgos, Cadiz, Calahorra, Calatayud, Ciudad Real, Daroca, Durango, Guadalupe, Lerida, Jaca, Jaen, Leon, Medina del Campo, Navarre, Oran, Orihuela, Osuna, Pampluna, Plasencia, Segovia, Sigüenza, Taragona, Tarragona, Teruel, Tortosa, and Xeres. (See list made by Lea.) Suspects arrested at places where there was no tribunal were imprisoned in some local or



improvised jail, to be carried to the nearest seat at the convenience of their captors.

In all fifty-six ecclesiastics held the office of inquisitor-general. The first was Thomas de Torquemada, royal confessor, appointed in 1483, and the last was Geronimo, bishop of Tarazona, who took office in 1818 and died in 1835, the year that the property of the Inquisition was confiscated and applied to the public debt.

An abuse which the Suprema (the Supreme Council of the Holy Office) was obliged to appear to correct in order to save the reputation of the Inquisition was the crimes of officials and subordinates against women. It furnished the temptations and opportunities, but professed to expect that they would not be yielded to or seized upon. It sent inspectors to the seats of the tribunals, instructing them to make interrogatories as to whether the inquisitors lived decently without publicly keeping concubines and without corrupting female prisoners or the wives and daughters of any who fell into their hands. The inhabitants of Granada, in 1526, complained to the king of exactly these abuses, but received no assurance that anything would be done to reform them. If the criminals were ever adequately punished, the records of such cases have been overlooked. There was nothing that the spiritual judges could so easily forgive, when done by a fellow-inquisitor, as a violation of the seventh commandment, unless it might be murder, which they viewed more leniently than, for example, habitual abstention from pork as a food.

The alcaide or warden of the Barcelona Inquisi-

tion, one Monserrat Pastor (significant name!) was scolded by a reverend inspector for scandalous conduct. He was not accused of intimacy with female prisoners, but he kept a mistress and had the women working for him and took their earnings. He also accepted "presents" from discharged prisoners. In addition to being reprimanded, he was ordered to hand back the presents and to give up the women's earnings.

Among the powers possessed by the inquisitors was that of turning outdoors the occupants of any house or building they needed for the uses of a tribunal. They could even expropriate the residence of a bishop, evicting the episcopal dignitary, and making such alterations, in the way of constructing prisons, as the business required. Sometimes the owner of the building was rewarded with an office, as happened to the Count-duke of San Lucar, who had an interest in the castle of Triana, at Seville, which the Inquisition occupied. The count was appointed one of its chief officials, and the position made hereditary with a good salary attached. The ambulatory tribunals, which went from town to town, reaping a harvest of confiscations and leaving behind them a trail of blood and ruin, could choose their own quarters and impose a penalty on any proprietor who resisted their invasion of his premises.

Only the baptized were subject to the jurisdiction of the Inquisition of Spain, baptism being a condition precedent to heresy. Sometimes a victim escaped by pleading and proving that he had never been baptized. But the Inquisition recognized the validity of baptism by a heretic, that is by a

Protestant minister; and although the rite was invalid, unless a proper "intention" on the part of the minister could be proved, the Holy Office was liberal in assuming the existence and sincerity of such intention. If the baptism was probable, the accused was a proper subject for its discipline. With regard to the admission of the testimony of misbelievers, the Inquisition was as inconsistent as our Christian courts which accept the unsupported word of an Atheist as to his belief, but will not accept it under affirmation as to the facts in the case on trial. The holy tribunal would take and profess to believe the testimony of an accused heretic as to the heresy of another accused or suspected person, but rejected it as without weight when offered as a statement of his own faith. Thus while exactly reversing the rule of civil courts, it managed to be just as stupidly and iniquitously wrong.

The subject who confessed his "error," expressed his repentance, and received absolution from his spiritual confessor, the priest, was still liable before the temporal tribunal for the "crime" of heresy (for an error in theology was a crime at law), and might suffer any penalty from a fine, called a penance, to burning at the stake.

Infancy was no protection against prosecution by the Inquisition for heresy, which children were considered capable of committing as soon as they were susceptible of being taught any thing. It is true that Torquemada had fixed the age of responsibility as coincident with that of discretion—twelve for girls and fourteen for boys—but infringement of the rule by the inquisitors was overlooked when

due to zeal. In 1501 two little girls, Inesita Garcia, aged nine, and Isabel Ortalano, aged ten, were sentenced to appear at an auto-da-fe. One had confessed to fasting on a Jewish holiday and the other to abstaining from pork by the advice of her father, who deemed it unwholesome food. The case of Joseph Rodriguez, aged eight, who was accused of Judaism, occupied the attention of the tribunal at Valladolid, Spain, for a whole year. He was made to give evidence against his father and mother, and then committed to the penitential prison.

Age proved no protection. After Maria Diaz had passed the century mark, she was thrown into the secret prison at Valladolid in 1638, and put on trial for Judaism.

Care was taken that the definition of heresy elaborated by the inquisitors should be sufficiently exhaustive to include every phase of doubt. The accused was caught in a multitude of nets with diminishing meshes, so that if he passed through one the next would hold him. All that might be spoken or written against any of the articles of the creed of the Catholic church was heresy. To renounce the errors of popery for those of Protestantism made out a plain case. To believe that adherents of any other religion may be saved; to "advance an offensive proposition"; to fail to accuse others who may do so; to speak disrespectfully of church services; to deface Catholic images; to read books condemned by the Inquisition; to lend such books to others; to deviate from the accepted practices of the Catholic church; to let a year pass without going to confession; to eat meat on fast days; to absent oneself from mass;



to be present at a sermon preached by anyone guilty of the foregoing; lodging in the house of a heretic as above, or contracting a friendship with him, or making him a present; to either visit a heretic in prison or assist him to escape; not to appear when summoned by the Inquisition; to disapprove anything done by the Inquisition; or to deny any assertion made by an inquisitor. A person was amenable to the Inquisition, even a public official in the discharge of his sworn duty, if he resisted any demand made upon him by a familiar, though to grant it would be a violation of the civil law and of his oath of office. If the accused admitted the charge of heresy, the minimum sentence was imprisonment for life. If he denied it he was put to the torture. He got it coming and going.

It took no evidence whatever to convict a converted Jew. The lamb that was accused by a wolf further up stream of roiling the water of the brook for him, had no better proof of a determination to make out a case and destroy him than had a Converso when brought before the Inquisition. The flesh of the lamb appealed to the appetite of the wolf, and the wealth of the Converso excited the rapacity of the inquisitors. The accusation and trial only served to work them into the right state for committing murder and robbery. They always assumed that the accused was guilty, and demanded that he clear himself. To that end they shut him up incommunicado, and allowed him neither counsel nor witnesses. What they could not prove they imputed. Reversing the attitude of civilized law, which presumes innocence, they

viewed the prisoner as the plan of salvation views each member of the human race—as a lost soul which must work out its own salvation or be condemned.

It is only by an abuse of language that the proceedings before the Inquisition can be called a trial, for the tribunal, as has well been said, was nothing but a Board of Conviction. The fate of the victim was decided before his arrest, and unless there was intervention too powerful to be safely ignored he went from the dungeon to the tribunal, from there to the torture chamber, and thence to his doom as inevitably as a boat set adrift in Niagara river goes over the falls.

Belief that the church would some day be reformed and primitive Christianity restored was heresy. In 1623, with funds furnished by Geronimo de Villanueva, a Benedictine convent was founded at Madrid. The family of Dona Teresa de Silva contributed to the furnishing of the convent, and the lady was elected abbess. She had a confessor named Calderon, and him Villanueva appointed spiritual director. An epidemic of demoniacal possession or prophetic mania broke out among the nuns; they prophesied a new dispensation for the church, with eleven nuns as apostles. One of the nuns was to be a reincarnation of St. Peter, another of St. Paul, and Spiritual Director Calderon would represent Christ. The Inquisition took the matter up, charging Calderon with "illuminism" and sentencing him, after three rigorous tortures, to a living death in a cell in the convent, while the nuns, after undergoing examination, were separated and sent away. Dona Teresa

got four years in a convent. It appears that she was Villanueva's mistress. As evidence that the discipline of the convent was not strict, the fact came out in the course of the judicial proceedings that Villanueva was accustomed to sit in Don Teresa's lap while she removed the parasites from his head and hair. Villanueva secured an acquittal, but the Inquisition later reversed itself, sentenced him to expulsion from Madrid and Toledo for three years, and cut off communication between him and his nuns. Appealing to the pope, he underwent persecution until near the time of his death in 1653, and the dispute between Spain and Rome over jurisdiction, which had been kept up for thirty-two years, was not ended for another year. His offense had consisted in inquiring about the future and believing the responses of the demons made through his nuns. This, according to the Edict of Faith, was divination, which infers denial of free-will, and is therefore forbidden as heretical.

There was heresy in inquiring of demons as to the future, but not in extracting from them intelligence about the past. In 1698, King Carlos of Spain, who was not strong, heard of information imparted to some possessed nuns concerning the origin of his ailment. The matter was investigated, and from a demon who had his habitation in a nun at Oviedo it was learned that he had been bewitched at the age of fourteen to render him impotent. The charm producing this unhappy result, the demon stated, was certain members of a dead man, administered to Carlos by his queen-mother, in a cup of chocolate. The remedy, com-

municated by the demons at the same time, was the use of blessed oil, purging, and separation from the queen. Carlos was duly stripped, anointed, purged, and prayed over, but while the medicines failed of effect in the way expected, the proceeding proved a disturbance to his mind and greatly weakened his body. It was easy to get from the demon new and different directions which Carlos followed, so at this time "the destinies of Spain were made to hang on the flippant utterances of hysterical girls who unsaid one day what they had averred the day before." Meanwhile Carlos got no better, and the queen took on an angry mood. The upshot of the experiment was that the royal confessor, Froilan Diaz, who had brought the advices of the demon to the king, got into trouble with the Inquisition; he lay in jail, incommunicado, for four years, and the outside world did not know whether he was dead or alive. King Carlos died in 1700, and his successor, Philip, took Diaz out of pawn and protected him until his death in 1714.

"When the prisoner has been impeached of the crime of heresy, but not convicted," directs the inquisitor's handbook by Eymerich, "and he obstinately persists in his denial, let the inquisitor take into his hands the proceedings, or any other file of papers, and, looking them over in his presence, let him feign to have discovered the offense fully established therein, and that he is desirous he should at once make his confession. The inquisitor shall then say to the prisoner, as if in astonishment, 'And is it possible you can still deny what I have here before my own eyes?' He shall then seem as if he read, and to the end that the



prisoner may know no better, he shall fold down the leaf, and after reading some moments longer, he shall say to him, 'It is just as I have said; why, therefore, do you deny it, when you see I know the whole matter?' " If the prisoner is deceived by this trickery, he is lost; if he detects it, his fate is not bettered. Invoking the name of Christ, the inquisitor delivers the sentence of torture.

The chief methods of torture are of three kinds—by pulley, by rack, and by fire—with such variations as the ingenuity of the inquisitors may enable them to invent. They proved themselves fully abreast of the best inventive geniuses of their time, and that in barbarity they had nothing to learn of savages.

In the torture by pulley, the tackle was fixed to the roof of the chamber, usually situated underground, that the outcries of the subject might not reach other parts of the building. The executioners stripped the victim to the waist, shackled his feet, and attached weights to his ankles. The rope descending from the pulley being made fast to his wrists behind his back, he was lifted high in the air and lowered by jerks. At each stage of his descent the judges, standing by, admonished him to reveal the "truth." Flogging was added to this mode of torture.

When subjected to the torture of the rack, the heretic was stretched upon a wooden horse or frame, with rungs like those of a ladder, and bound thereto in such a manner as to leave no room for movement of feet, hands, or head. The rack was so constructed that, according to Puigblanch, quoted

in Mason's History of the Inquisition, "in this attitude he experienced eight strong contortions in his limbs, namely, two on the fleshy parts of the arms above the elbows, and two below; one on each thigh, and also on the legs." Bound thus, the heretic, in the name of the most merciful Christ, could be subjected to other forms of torture for the exaltation of the faith. There was the "water cure," where water was dropped upon a ribbon or piece of silk laid on his mouth, the cloth, by the weight of the water, being carried into his throat and producing all the agonies of suffocation by drowning. Or a piece of linen was laid upon his face, and the water falling upon it prevented him from breathing.

Torture by fire was effected by seating the heretic upon the ground, with his feet in the stocks, which were two pieces of timber clamped together, over and under, across his legs above the ankles. The soles of his feet then having been greased with lard, a blazing brazier was applied to them, and they were first blistered and then fried. At intervals a board was interposed between the fire and his feet, to be at once removed if he disobeyed the command to confess himself guilty of that with which he was charged. Being more painful, but less fatal than racking, this was the torture most in vogue when the subject chanced to be of the female sex. It was also favored in cases where children were to be persuaded to testify against their parents.

Lesser tortures, such as binding a piece of iron to a limb and putting a twister in the rope to force it into the flesh, or pressing the fingers with

rods between them, or removing a nail from finger or toe, were practiced upon persons of not sufficient strength to support the pulley, rack, or fire.

The rules allowed that torture might be extended over an hour, and while it could not be repeated, yet provided it was suspended under the hour, it might be continued. The torture on another day could thus be viewed as a continuation of the preceding one, and the victim be tormented indefinitely.

Torture to extort confession of guilt was legalized by the legislators of various countries, and a few hundred years ago was all but universal; but the civil law discharged the prisoner who persevered in denial. The Inquisition, being "holy," condemned him to perpetual imprisonment or sent him to the galleys.

When the Cortes of Spain confirmed the abolition of the Inquisition in Madrid and threw open its doors, there was found among the score of prisoners one under sentence of "death by the pendulum." That method of inflicting capital punishment is thus described by Juan Antonio Llorente, the great authority for the history of the Spanish Inquisition: The condemned is fastened in a groove upon a table, on his back. Suspended above him is a gigantic pendulum, the ball of which has a sharp edge on the lower part, and the pendulum is so constructed as to lengthen with every stroke. The victim sees this engine of destruction swinging to and fro a short distance from his eyes. Momentarily the keen edge comes nearer. At length it cuts the skin of his nose, and gradually cuts deeper, until life is extinct. The church was

employing this lever for the exaltation of the faith as late as the year of grace 1820.

The compound, "auto-da-fe," will be used many times in this history. The term signifies an "act of faith." It is the name the Inquisition gave to those festival occasions when heretics who had been "relaxed" to the secular arm for punishment paid the penalty prescribed by the Holy Office.

Perhaps the fullest description of an auto that has been preserved, or that was ever written, is the one by Doctor Don Pedro Jose Bermudez. The auto which Bermudez reports took place in 1736, at Lima, Peru, whither the Inquisition had followed the Spanish conquest. In 1639 the Lima Inquisition had burned the Judaizing millionaire, Manuel Bautista Perez, and his wealthy coreligionists as heretics. A little less than a century later, when opulent heretics were few and the Holy Office had come at last to the base use of burning voodoo doctors and negro witches, another auto was held in Lima. The inquisitors at that time were Gaspar Ibanez de Peralta, Don Cristobal Sanchez Calderon, and Don Diego de Unda y Mallea. It may be stated that Calderon was subsequently convicted as a thief and that De Unda suffered a fine on conviction of robbery—of which events the only features that need surprise us are the convictions. Thieving and robbery were their business.

The subjects of the auto in 1736, described by Bermudez, were to be Madame Castro, sentenced to be burned as a witch, and ten other women condemned to punishment for similar offense. Forty days before the time fixed for the ceremony the Inquisitor Unda, in his capacity as fiscal of the



Inquisition, repaired to the palace, Nov. 13, for the purpose of inviting in person the viceroy, Villagarcia, to attend. He also invited the resident archbishop, Escandon. At the same time the secretary of the secret tribunal invited the judges of the Royal Audience. These invitations to royalty and quality having been delivered, public notification of the approaching celebration was then made by the inquisitors, who, mounted on horseback, and with the din of fife and kettledrum, paraded the streets, publishing the proclamation and inviting the populace to the entertainment by placards, which were read aloud, as follows:

“The Holy Office of the Inquisition makes known to all faithful Christians, inhabitants of the city of the kings, and others that on the 23d of December of this present year, 1736, an auto-da-fe will be celebrated for the exaltation of our Holy Catholic Faith in the principal square of this city, so that all the faithful assisting by their presence may gain the privileges and indulgences granted by the Sovereign Pontiffs to all who assist, accompany, and aid the said auto, which is ordered to be published and proclaimed that it may be known to all.”

Observe that it was all for the exaltation of the faith, and that attending, or “assisting,” as witnessing the auto was termed, secured to the attendant certain privileges granted by the pope. The inquisitors could scarcely have foreseen that the day would come when apologists for the church would arise to deny that the pope or the faith was concerned in the conduct of the discredited Inquisition.

Due notice having been given of the treat in

store for all the inhabitants of Lima, the theatre of the auto, the great square of Lima, was decorated appropriately for the gala occasion it was to be. Two weeks in advance the inquisitors demanded of the Consulate and other public and private persons the use of their balconies in which to place seats for the wives of the judges, members of the town council, and other functionaries of the colonial staff. For the viceroy and the archbishop and their families, the ecclesiastics, the Jesuits, and the communities of regulars (the members of which were at that time counted by hundreds) there were reserved special seats, placed in the order as to precedence that had been established at horse shows and other exhibitions in the square. Expenses were met by contributions, the town council and the University subscribing six hundred dollars and the Consulate four hundred. The Inquisition itself had pleaded poverty in its official letter soliciting funds to pay for the auto, and we may conclude that it contributed nothing, although its treasure chests were full of the confiscated wealth of heretics.

At the centre of the square the inquisitors erected their throne. In the midst was the mound of the penitents, surmounted by a green cross, the symbol of the Inquisition, which was to be seen on days of punishment covered by a black veil in token of the church's mourning over the festivities she is providing for the diversion of the faithful. On one side of the mound was placed a pulpit from which would be preached a sermon, while opposite there was a cage to hold the condemned. The viceroy, on the day of doom, occupied a seat

between the two inquisitors, Peralta and Calderon, an inevitable reminder of the one who was lifted up between two thieves. The secretaries, notaries, constables, familiars, and other assistants to the executioners, with the sponsors of the condemned, had seats at an altitude which established their precedence over the laity.

The 23d of December fell on Sunday, the date having been piously chosen in commemoration of the foundation of Jerusalem by Judas Maccabeus. On the evening before the auto green wood for the burning had been carried to its place in solemn procession. The night was one of fictitious alarm, for they were only going to burn an old woman and flog ten or twelve colored persons. Nevertheless the garrison of the city was kept under arms, part of it at the gate of the great square, other companies at the houses of their respective captains, and the cavalry gathered at the place of execution. As though the town were in danger, a general marched up and down the streets at the head of numerous patrols. The dawn was ushered in by the blare of military instruments.

A reason for choosing Sunday on which to burn heretics is given by Doctor Pena, a commentator on the Manual of Inquisitor Eymerich, who thinks that "it is better to celebrate the autos-da-fe on feast days, it being advantageous that much people should be present to witness the punishment and atonement of criminals, that fear may keep them from crime. From this motive, without doubt, the tribunals of Spain determined to celebrate the autos-da-fe on feast days, and to solemnize them with the attendance of the town coun-

cils, audiences, and other persons in authority. This spectacle will infuse terror into the hearts of the beholders, and, presenting to them the awful image of the final judgment, will leave in their minds a salutary effect and produce tremendous results." Thus the auto combined the festive with the edifying.

In accordance with a custom established at Saragossa—when under Inquisitor Perez there were on occasions a hundred or more heretics to be cremated at a slow fire in one day—the spectators at Lima began to assemble at daybreak. At the same time the condemned were marched forth from their cells in the order and dress prescribed by Torquemada, the first inquisitor-general of Spain, in his "Instructions." Each wore a *sanbenito*, a sort of shroud, yellow in color, girdled at the waist and painted with devils and reptiles; a "*coroza*" or cap of derision, the same, we are told, as the conical caps still used by the Brotherhood of the Holy Sepulchre. Their backs bore figures of the cross of St. Andrew, and in their hands they carried candles of green wax, which in their several parts symbolized the three theological virtues: the wick, faith; the wax, hope; the flame, charity. It would seem that the inquisitor who first detected the symbolism of the penitential candle possessed a sense of sardonic humor.

There could be little pecuniary profit in burning an old woman and flogging a dozen others, but the financial deficit had been made good in the usual manner by exhuming the bones of heretics posthumously condemned and providing effigies "of those who could not come in person, having been



prevented by flight." The property of all these, their heirs and assigns, was acquired by the Inquisition through the process of condemnation and confiscation. Thus while the living victims afforded the spectacle, the dead ones furnished the business.

The effigies of the fugitives and the bones of the dead—"wretched spoil of the narrow sepulchre," writes Bermudez finely, "from whose sad and awful bosom, before they were reduced to dust, they were taken to become the unprofitable [?] ashes by the violence of the impetuous flames, caused by the conflagration of the burning pile"—carried for a device the *sanbenito* and the other penitential garments. Upon the images could be read the names of the fugitives whom they represented, conspicuously labeled on their breasts, and certificates accompanied the boxes containing the ghastly remains.

The procession of the condemned having arrived, the viceroy took his seat, but before doing so, standing with his head uncovered and his hand on the Gospels, as the king whom he represented would do and had done in the same circumstances, he pronounced in a loud voice, the oath imposed on him by the grand inquisitor acknowledging the supremacy of the Inquisition. After the viceroy, the royal audience took the oath of respect for the supreme jurisdiction of the Holy Office, and then a notary, called the "reader," arose and administered a like oath to the whole concourse of people that crowded the square. (See p. 55.) After this followed the sermon, the honor of preaching which on the present occasion fell to the Fran-



ciscan father, Juan de Gacitua. It occupied some hours in its delivery, and contained "innumerable barbarous and mongrel Latin phrases." Don Benjamin Vicuna Mackenna, who wrote a book on the Inquisition in South America, testifies that the "patient and orthodox Don Mariano Egana himself," after examining the fifty pages over which Father Juan's sermon extends, "could not restrain himself from writing upon the margin these words of natural but not very Christian-like [why not Christian-like?] exasperation: 'How much more did this great rogue deserve the fire!'"

On the heels of the "divine word," as Gacitua's harangue is termed in the annals, came the burning of the witch of Toledo, Ana de Castro, otherwise known as "The Flyer," who was carried from the square to the burning-place by the bridge over the river Rimac (the stream that runs past Lima), where the inquisitors, having delivered her to the secular arm, formed a circle about the blazing pile that reduced her body to ashes. There were burned in the same fire, besides effigies and disinterred bones of the various heretics, the remains of a merchant named Obando, of Santiago, Chile, whose property the Inquisition had sequestered, but who cheated the Holy Office of a spectacle by dying in his dungeon.

An intermission followed the burning of the Flyer at the bridge and the return of the populace to the great square, during which the viceroy, the inquisitors, and the other functionaries, civil and ecclesiastical, adjourned to the palace for refreshments; and it is not to be presumed that the spectacle of a human being, and a woman at that,

perishing at the stake, impaired either their appetite or their thirst, or that the propinquity of her hissing flesh prevented them from eating and drinking heartily.

The event of the day had passed off, but there remained the dozen wretched women who, accused of witchcraft and sorcery, were to sustain the floggings, the public infamy, and other punishments named in the sentences read to them from the seat of the viceroy and the inquisitors. An aged woman named Maria Hernandez, for the crime of being a "witch," received two hundred lashes, which number of stripes appears to be the minimum prescribed by the Inquisition.

The festival held for the exaltation of the holy Catholic faith and in honor of Judas Maccabeus "lasted to a late hour of the night," and all who assisted got their indulgences and privileges granted by the Supreme Pontiff.

Brief accounts of the autos held in Madrid and attended by the king and queen contain the substance of the foregoing description of the one celebrated in Lima. There was no variation except that the king himself, instead of his viceroy, made acknowledgment of the supereminence of the Inquisition and took the oath to support it; and that the burnings, which were of course more numerous, were preceded by mass as well as a sermon. The victims, men and youths, matrons and maidens, passed in review before their majesties, who sat within the sound of their cries of distress when the flames touched them, while the odor of their burning flesh reached the nostrils of the royal personages. The pious and heartless monarchs could

with mental vision behold the holy Catholic faith exalted and the cause of Christ advanced. They could not see their country's abasement, nor their own names going down to future ignominy and to the detestation of all posterity not denatured by that same exalted faith.

In the earlier autos the living victims outnumbered the dead and absent. As burnings increased the conditions were reversed, and absentees became the most numerous. They had been struck with terror by the thought that they might be delated to the Inquisition and had fled the country. So large was the emigration of potential heretics that, as when the Jews were expelled, a dearth of material on which the church might exercise its benignant influence was feared, and to meet the situation, edicts were issued forbidding all persons of Jewish lineage to leave Spain, and imposing a heavy fine on ship-masters conveying them away. To supplement the royal edicts, the Archbishop of Messina, 1499, issued an order, which was published throughout the realm and confirmed by Inquisitor-General Deza two years later, to the effect that no ship-captain or merchant should transport across seas any New Christian, whether Jewish or Moorish, without a royal license, under pain of confiscation, of excommunication, and of being held as a protector of heretics. So great had grown the power of the Inquisition at this period that it could thus command and be obeyed in matters far more temporal than "spiritual." The question may arise why, if the purpose of the Inquisition was to drive heresy and apostasy from a Christian land, these fugitives were not permitted, and

even encouraged, to go elsewhere. There are two reasons—one of which is that the inquisitors wanted their blood; and, secondly, the Inquisition did not propose to be cheated out of the portable property which the fugitives took with them. Agents were therefore posted at all ports to arrest and rob—for robbery is what confiscation means—all New Christians desiring to cross the sea. Those who escaped were recaptured when possible. We read in Lea's "History of the Inquisition in Spain" that in 1496 one Micer Martin, an inquisitor of Mallorca, heard of some New Christians who were in Bugia, a seaport town of Africa. He forthwith despatched the notary, Lope de Vergara, thither to seize them; but the unbelieving Moors, finding out the object of the expedition, put the notary and his party in jail and kept them there for three years. De Vergara was ransomed, and in view of his miseries Ferdinand, king of Spain, ordered the receiver at Mallorca to pay him two hundred and fifty gold ducats, which he received and enjoyed instead of being hanged for a pirate and kidnaper, the fate of many better men.

Everybody but the king soon learned that it was unsafe to rebuke an agent of the Inquisition or to complain of its impudent and oppressive acts. So its officers had practically their own way and were not called to account, except occasionally by Ferdinand, who kept an eye on the Holy Office to see that he was not robbed of his share of the confiscations. Some of the nobles objected to the inquisitors' plundering their dependents or tenants; these Ferdinand reconciled by granting them a share of the booty. Local officials for a time pro-



tested against officers of the Inquisition entering their towns and taking away citizens without showing any authority for the act, but the king sustained the Holy Office in overriding recognized law by ordering the surrender of heretics on demand of the inquisitors under a penalty of fine and confiscation. Disobedience was rendered dangerous by threats of prosecution for abetting heresy, and the reign of God's butchers became almost absolute.

In the year 1500, at Herrera, a girl "uttered scandals against the faith," and was taken into custody by the local authorities, who nevertheless declined to hand her over to the boasted mercies of the Inquisition. The king himself ordered her surrender, and with a number of her unfortunate sympathizers she ultimately came to the stake and was burned in the name of Jesus.

Ferdinand sometimes rebuked inquisitors for excess of zeal, as when by wholesale arrests a town bade fair to be depopulated, but it is not recorded that any attention was ever paid to his dispraise. The Inquisition might apologize or explain, but it never reformed. On the other hand, he was prompt and effective in suppressing opposition to the proceedings of its agents. In Valencia on one occasion a confiscation excited great popular feeling, and the governor and his counsellors met to protest against it, saying in the course of their deliberations something which proved displeasing to the inquisitors, who reported to Ferdinand. The king wrote to the officials of Valencia calling them down in set terms, and telling them that it was none of their business if the inquisitors committed



an injustice. It was their duty to aid the Inquisition, and he ordered them in future to do so. Ferdinand was so constituted that he took as much pleasure in attending an auto-da-fe and witnessing the suffering inflicted on a fellow creature for Christ's sake as the king of Spain does to-day in going to a bull-fight or shooting pigeons. It was one of his diversions, and on two occasions, one in 1512 and the other the year following, he made a present of two hundred ducats (\$280) to the inquisitor who had "pulled off" an unusually successful auto. He even gave fifteen ducats to the messenger who brought him the news.

It has been said that the Inquisition was under the direction of honest bigots who performed their duty conscientiously. Crimes so atrocious as those of this institution, it is thought, could never have been perpetrated except by sincere fanatics who placed duty to God, as they conceived it, before everything else. Something altogether different is the truth. It is not at all probable that any intelligent man ever put another to death by reason of a difference in religious belief without knowing that in doing so he was committing a foul murder. And when to murder is added torture, all men who have risen above savagery know that the deed is infamous. There is no more excuse for these criminals, from the pope to the king and the inquisitor-general, and so on down to the last slimy and crawling familiar, than for any other homicides. The palliation is less than in many cases punished by hanging, because provocation was wanting and the murders were deliberate and wanton.

The promoters of the Inquisition being crim-

inals, it was to be expected that their propensities would manifest themselves in more than one form. And so it turned out, for they were thieves and "grafters" as well as assassins. In 1499 the chief inquisitor at Cordova was one Doctor Guiral. It having been noticed that the revenue from the Cordova tribunal was smaller than it should be, Dr. Guiral underwent investigation by order of the pope. The investigators found that the holy man had pocketed 150,000 maravedis by selling to penitents exemptions from wearing the sanbenito, or penitential garment; that in collusion with the receiver of confiscations he had plundered that fund to a large extent; that his pilferings from sequestered property had yielded among other things ninety-three pearls of great value; that he made money by claiming percentages offered for the discovery of confiscated property that had been concealed; that he imposed fines on reconciled penitents and kept the money; that he negotiated for the New Christians of Cordova an agreement under which they compounded with 2,200,000 maravedis for confiscations to which they might become liable, and that for this he received from them as commission nearly 100,000, to which he added 50,000 by enabling two of the contributors to cheat their associates by escaping payment of their assessment to the common fund. He was arrested for being too greedy. Robbing heretics was no crime, but when the royal treasury suffered from his holding out the king took notice of the case. As there is no record of Dr. Guiral's conviction, it is presumed that he squared himself with the persons higher up; at any rate, he was transferred to Avila, where

he continued his practices, though on a smaller scale. His operations here consisted of extorting money from the relatives of his prisoners, and he did not hesitate to compound offenses for what the offender might be able to give.

Guiral was replaced at the Cordova tribunal by a man who could make the position pay. The criminal to succeed him was Don Rodriguez Lucero, who had already successfully administered the Inquisition at Xeres. Within a year the activity of Lucero, with his genius for unearthing new heretics, had made Cordova one of the best paying stations of the system. Ferdinand gave him two assistants at a salary of 10,000 maravedis, and he so expanded the business that in 1503 he could cash a royal order for 500,000 to pay inquisitorial salaries elsewhere. Lucero worked extensively among office-holders, arresting them in groups, and leaving their offices vacant. As in Spain all offices were for sale, the crown had no better asset than a vacancy, which was disposed of to any eligible party who had money or favors to give in exchange for a chance to fill it. Putting New Christians out of office and filling their places with born Catholics afforded some of the biggest profits of persecution.

A church dignitary was as lawful game for Inquisitor Lucero as any other person of means. Working with him for the accomplishment of his villainies was Juan Roiz de Calcena, secretary to King Ferdinand in inquisitorial affairs, and also secretary to the Supreme Council of the Inquisition. These two vultures, Lucero and Calcena, singled out as their prey, in 1595, the archdeacon

of Castro, Juan Munoz, a youth of seventeen, the son of a native Christian mother and a converted hidalgo. His place, worth 300,000 maravedis a year, would become a valuable article of commerce with Munoz out of it. Lucero and Calcena organized a plot against him, involving his parents in his ruin, and he was penanced to disable him from holding office in the church or state. The spoils of this raid were divided between a cardinal who had been an accomplice of the conspirators, and the royal treasurer Morales, Lucero, and Calcena. Morales got the archdeaconry vacated by the persecution of Munoz; Lucero was rewarded with a billet as canon in Seville, with some benefices elsewhere, while Secretary Calcena gathered in property estimated at 4,000,000 maravedis. A maravedi, the monetary unit of Castile, was only three-eighths of a cent, but four millions of them amounted to a considerable sum.

That the inquisitors were out for plunder, and made the defense of the faith a pretext, is proved by the fact that native Christians of unblemished reputation and undoubted orthodoxy were denounced and robbed. These operations were carried on with the knowledge of the royalty, for of course the Old Christians would not submit to pillage and imprisonment without protest to the throne. It was like being turned on by a friend. Both the secular and ecclesiastical authorities at Cordova signed memorials stating that fidelity to the faith afforded them no protection for their lives and property, and that the inquisitor Lucero had certain of his prisoners assiduously instructed in Jewish prayers and rites, so that they could be accurate in



the testimony which, by threats of torture, he forced them to bear against native orthodox Christians. By the aid of these trained and tortured witnesses Lucero fabricated a conspiracy of the New Christians to convert Spain to Judaism, and some of the alleged conspirators he convicted of traversing the land with this purpose in view, although they had never in their lives been outside the city gates. He gathered lists of persons who had attended the sermons of an actual or fabulous Judaizer named Membreque, and burnt one hundred and seven of them alive in a single auto-da-fe. He had more than four hundred prisoners at once, and as they crowded his dungeons he sent numbers of them to Toro, where they would be dealt with by Inquisitor-General Deza, who resided there with the Suprema. The Suprema was a committee having jurisdiction over all matters connected with the faith, its full name being the Concejo de la Suprema y General Inquisicion.

The Bishop of Cordova and all the authorities of the city, in a petition to the pope, declared that the motive for the violence and rapine of the Inquisitors was greed for the confiscations, "which they habitually embezzled."

The reign of terror having spread to the realm of Capitan Gonzola de Avora, that official wrote: "As for the Inquisition, the method adopted was to place so much confidence in the Archbishop of Seville (Inquisitor-General Deza) and in Lucero and Juan de la Fuente that they were able to defame the whole kingdom, to destroy, without God or justice, a great part of it (that is, of the kingdom of Spain), slaying and robbing and violating



maids and wives, to the great dishonor of the Christian religion. . . . As for what concerns myself, I repeat what I have already written to you, that the damages which the wicked officials of the Inquisition have wrought in my land are so many and so great that no reasonable person on hearing of them would not grieve."

Lucero retained his horde of rapacious officials, and gratified his criminal instincts by aiming at high game. On the death of Queen Isabella he began making demonstrations looking to the denunciation of Hermando de Talavera, archbishop of Granada and former confessor to the queen. Talavera, as in the case of many Spanish families, had a strain of Jewish blood in his veins, but was as orthodox as the pope. In some way he had incurred the hostility of Lucero, and that worthy resolved on revenge. He (Lucero) had in his custody a woman whom he had tortured on the charge of being a Jewish prophetess and maintaining a synagogue in her house. This woman he threatened with further torture unless she should testify to what she had seen in Talavera's palace. On her replying that she knew nothing about the matter, he proceeded to tell her what she had seen there, and this was it: An assembly was there held composed of Talavera and his household, with others, who agreed to traverse the kingdom, preaching and prophesying the advent of Elias and the Messiah. To escape torture the woman prisoner agreed to testify to the truth of these fabricated circumstances, as they had been dictated to her; and her testimony furnished a basis for the prosecution of Talavera and his family. If Lucero de-

sired supporting testimony he could obtain it in the same manner as the woman's had been secured.

The attack began by publicly and offensively arresting Talavera's nephew, the dean and officials of his church, during service and in his presence, and his sister, his nieces, and his servants, all of whom were forced by torture to give testimony against him. But about this time, 1506, Ferdinand was succeeded by Philip, who had been "seen" by the Conversos and was deeply impressed by their pecuniary arguments. As a result Lucero fell into disrepute, the Inquisition weakened, and the Suprema, including Inquisitor-General Deza, disclaimed all responsibility for the acts of Lucero, addressing a letter to the people of Cordova in which it said that the accusations brought against that person seemed incredible, "for even highwaymen, when robbing their victims, spare their lives, while here not only the property but the lives of the victims were taken and the honor of their descendants to the tenth generation." Of course, coming from the Suprema and the Inquisitor-General, these were maudlin sentiments, uttered with hypocritical intent to deceive, for the authors of them knew that the Inquisition had never been conducted on any other lines than those followed by Lucero. Don Diego Deza, inquisitor-general, was compelled to subdelegate irrevocably to Bishop Guzman of Catania power to supersede Lucero and revise his acts, and a papal brief placed in Guzman's hands all the papers and prisoners in Cordova, Toro, and Valladolid.

Lucero endeavored to destroy the evidence against him by burning his prisoners, and had gone so

far as to announce an auto-da-fe, when the massacre he had planned was prevented by orders from the sovereigns.

The future at this period looked dark to the inquisitors, but the sudden death of Philip, in September, 1506, lifted the cloud. Inquisitor-General Deza, ignoring Queen Juana, who exercised no authority, promptly revoked Guzman's commission to supersede Lucero, and restored to power that individual whom in his letter to the Cordova chapter he had characterized as worse than a highwayman. Then the citizens of Cordova rose up, and, declaring that they would rather sacrifice life and property than submit longer to such intolerable oppression, broke into the alcazar where the Inquisition held its seat, seized a number of the officers and liberated the prisoners, Lucero saving himself by flight.

Inquisitor-General Deza, supported by Ferdinand, then in Naples, demanded the arrest and punishment of all who had been concerned in the uprising, and when they sent a messenger to the queen he threw him into prison. As for Pope Julius II., who knew from Deza's own statement that Lucero was somewhat below a horsethief in character, he acted promptly against the Cordovans, declaring, in a letter to his friend Deza, that "the Jews, pretending to be Christians, who had dared to rise against the Inquisition, must be exterminated root and branch; no labor must be spared to suppress this pestilence before it should spread, to hunt out all who had participated in it, and to exercise the utmost severity in punishing them, without appeal, for their crimes."

The once deposed and denounced Lucero was again in the saddle. The liberated prisoners, who had been in the custody of kinsmen and friends, were surrendered to him, and he was ready to continue the persecution of the aged Talavera; for Ferdinand, to vindicate Lucero, had placed the arch-  
\* bishop on trial. Talavera's case went to the pope, who acquitted him eight days after he was dead. As he had no wealth it was not worth while to judge him as a heretic; his family had already been plucked; he had no children, and he had already vacated his office by dying, so that Ferdinand, Deza, and Lucero might fill it as they chose.

\* But here the career of Inquisitor Lucero ended. Not even the friendship of Ferdinand could longer keep him in office, and in his fall he brought with him Inquisitor-General Deza, who was superseded by Ximenes. Lucero was carried in chains to Burgos, where a court composed of a large number of church dignitaries sat upon his case.  
\* The verdict rendered by this court declared that the synagogues, assemblies, and missions of Judaism were mere inventions of the prisoner. The prisoners he had employed as witnesses were released, and their testimony to fictitious crimes was ordered to be expunged from the records. The houses that he had torn down as conventicles of heresy were ordered rebuilt, though it would appear that they were not restored to their former owners, but remained the property of the Inquisition. Lucero's trial dragged on for two years, when, under royal pressure, the Suprema dismissed him with no other punishment than the imprisonment he had undergone, and he retired to lead the simple life in the

canonry he had obtained when he and Calcena plundered Juan Munoz, the archdeacon of Castro.

Lea reflects: "That Lucero was an exceptional monster may well be admitted, but when such wickedness could be safely perpetrated for years and be exposed and ended only through the accidental intervention of Philip and Juana (king and queen of Spain), it may safely be assumed that the temptations of secrecy and irresponsibility rendered frightful abuses, if not universal, at least frequent. The brief reign of Philip led other sorely vexed communities to appeal to the sovereigns for relief, and some of their memorials have been preserved. One from Jaen relates that the tribunal of that city procured from Lucero a useful witness whom for five years he had kept in the prison of Cordova to swear to what was wanted. His name was Diego de Algeciras, and, if the petitioners are to be believed, he was, in addition to being a perjurer, a drunkard, a gambler, a forger, and a clipper of coins. This worthy was brought to Jaen, and performed his functions so satisfactorily that the wealthiest conversos were soon imprisoned.

"Two hundred wretches crowded the filthy jail, and it was requisite to forbid the rest of the Conversos from leaving the city without a license. With Diego's assistance, and the free use of torture on both accused and witnesses, it was not difficult to obtain whatever evidence was desired. The notary of the tribunal, Antonio de Barcena, was especially successful in this. On one occasion he locked a young girl of fifteen in a room, stripped her naked, and scourged her until she consented to bear testimony against her mother.



"A prisoner was carried in a chair to the auto-da-fe with his feet burned to the bone; he and his wife were burned alive, and then two of their slaves were imprisoned and forced to give such evidence as was necessary to justify the execution.

"The cells in which the unfortunates were confined in heavy chains were narrow, dark, humid, filthy, and overrun with vermin; their sequestered property was squandered by the officials, so that they starved in prison while their helpless children starved outside."

The Inquisition became an instrumentality through which real estate speculators could make profitable deals. A memorial from Arjona, near Jaen, relates that evil men of that place conspired to report their fellow citizens as heretics, so that they might buy their property cheap when it came to be confiscated and sold. Their activity resulted in bringing the inquisitors to Arjona. A house-to-house canvass followed. Women were arrested and forced in prison to give evidence against their neighbors. The suspects were arrested; their property was sequestrated, their houses locked and their children turned into the street, while the officials carried off their prisoners, who were thrust into the already overcrowded jail at Jaen. Later the confiscations were sold at auction, and the rascals who had planned the raid bought them at a bargain.

At Llerena there was a tribunal which for many years had found little to do. Then came a new judge, one named Bravo, who had been trained for the work under Lucero. He summarily arrested a large number of wealthy persons, whom he stripped

of their fortunes, and he provided for his relations by appointing them to positions in which they could appropriate the sequestered property. Being remonstrated with for brutal treatment of his prisoners, he replied that "he who had placed them there [presumably Inquisitor-General Deza] desired that they should all die off, one by one." The appeals of their friends to Queen Juana were in vain, and this parcel of one hundred or more professing Christians were sacrificed in a huge holocaust to gratify the rapacity and cruelty of the church.

As we know, the arresting officers of the Inquisition possessed unrestricted powers of search and seizure, and to interfere with them was to become a subject for the tribunal. The sole protection against them was assassination, which was more than once attempted, though without the success that the populace could have wished. King Ferdinand, who had enjoyed the revenues of persecution, gave most emphatic orders for the protection of the persons of the inquisitors; and when he died in January, 1516, his last words called for the blood of heretics, which the Inquisition had transformed into a stream of gold emptying into his treasury. This is the injunction which his testament, executed the day before his death, laid upon his grandson and successor, Charles V.:

"As all other virtues are nothing without faith, by which and in which we are saved, we command the said illustrious prince, our grandson, to be always zealous in defending and exalting the Catholic faith, and that he aid, defend, and favor the church of God, and labor with all his strength

to destroy and extirpate heresy from our kingdoms and lordships, selecting and appointing throughout them ministers, God-fearing and of good conscience, who will conduct the Inquisition justly and properly for the service of God and the exaltation of the Catholic faith, and who will also have great zeal for the destruction of the sect of Mohammed."

The exhortation may be considered as much a defense of his own course as a guide for his successor. Men of bloody lives have often hoped to obscure their own crimes by instigating others to deeds equally villainous.

✱ Inquisitor-General Ximenes, in whom the governing power was lodged with the death of Ferdinand and the absence of Charles, was a reformer to the extent that he would not tolerate private "graft," or the conduct of the Inquisition for the personal and pecuniary advantage of its subordinate officials.

✱ Corruption had been protected by Ferdinand so long as he got his share of the proceeds, and his protection had hitherto made it impossible for Ximenes to reach the guilty parties. Now he made use of his authority, and attempted to bring under the axe the neck of Calcena, Ferdinand's secretary in all inquisitorial matters, who had been the accomplice of Lucero in embezzling the proceeds of confiscations. But Ximenes survived Ferdinand only a year, and his reformatory work was undone by his successor, Inquisitor-General Adrian, who made Calcena secretary of the Suprema at the same time that Charles accepted him as royal secretary to the reunited Inquisition. Adrian, who thus rewarded corruption in office, was elevated to the papacy in 1522.

Charles V. proved a vacillating monarch. He was in favor of the Inquisition, but he wanted the money of the wealthy New Christians, and he seems to have been in some doubt whether it was not better to take it directly from them for protection or by selling them offices, than to allow the Inquisition to confiscate and auction off their property, and take the chance of getting his share of the proceeds.

The influence of Charles's High Chancellor, Jean le Sauvage, was for sale in the market-place, and the New Christians purchased it. They gave him ten thousand ducats in hand and promised him as much more when it should go into effect, to draw up a series of instructions to the officials of the Inquisition which would restrict their powers for persecution. These instructions prohibited that the salaries of inquisitors should be dependent on the fines and confiscations imposed by themselves, or that grants should be made to them from confiscated property or benefices of those whom they condemned, or that sequestered property should be granted away before the condemnation of the owners; they prohibited that inquisitors and officials abusing their positions should be merely transferred to other places instead of being duly punished; or that those who complained of the tribunals should be arrested and maltreated; or that those who appealed to the Suprema should be persecuted; or that inquisitors should give information to those seeking grants as to the property of prisoners still under trial; or that prisoners under trial should be debarred from hearing mass and receiving the sacraments; or that those condemned to perpetual im-

prisonment should be allowed to die of starvation.

These instructions show plainly enough what abuses existed in the administration of the Inquisition, and how a tribunal existing for the alleged purpose of maintaining and exalting the Catholic faith, was in fact little more than a vast engine of oppression and robbery for the benefit of public and private mercenaries, secular and religious. King Charles recognized the reality of the evils, and once expressed the private wish that the Inquisition might not be used by men who thought more of the acquisition of property than of the salvation of souls; but he did not put his signature to the instructions prepared by Chancellor Sauvage, who shortly died, and the officials of the Inquisition continued to enrich themselves with the proceeds of the fines and confiscations they pronounced.

About 1520, a formal proposition was made to King Charles to buy out his interest in the Inquisition. Responsible persons offered, if he would relinquish his rights therein, with those of his descendants forever, to pay him four hundred thousand ducats—one hundred thousand down, and the remainder in three annual payments. (A ducat was worth a little more than \$1.40.) The parties went further and agreed, on condition that a bull be obtained from the pope prohibiting confiscations and pecuniary fines and penances, that they would defray all the rents, costs, and salaries of the Inquisition on a basis to be defined by Charles. Charles rejected the offer; evidently he estimated the worth of the Inquisition to him as above the proffered \$560,000; or he may have been incapable of fulfilling the conditions. Two years later the



offer was raised to seven hundred thousand ducats (nearly a million dollars) if confiscations should be abandoned, but the proposal was turned down, and the atrocities of inquisitorial procedure experienced no modification. It is notable that nobody proposed the abolition of the Inquisition altogether; the Spaniards were Catholics and they believed in the extirpation of heresy; they only asked that the orthodox might be protected from persecution and the loss of their fortunes to enrich a gang of bloodthirsty mercenaries.

In 1526 Granada was separated from Cordova and provided with a tribunal of its own for the purpose of subjecting the Moriscos to the Holy Office. Here the inhabitants had something worse than confiscations to complain of, and they petitioned Charles to do away with the secrecy that gave opportunity for the abuse. "They pointed out that a judge, if licentiously disposed, had ample opportunity to work his will with the maidens and wives brought before him as prisoners, and even with those merely summoned to appear, whose terror betrayed that they would dare to offer no resistance. In the same way the notaries and other subordinates, who were frequently unmarried men, had every advantage with the wives and daughters of the prisoners." All this, the petition recounted, was so generally understood that the positions of judges, notaries, and familiars to the Inquisition were sought by evil-minded men in order to gratify their propensities. The inhabitants of Granada offered to pay Charles fifty thousand ducats (\$70,000) for the abolition of secrecy from the proceedings and prisons of the Inquisition, and as-

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sured him that the other provinces of Spain would pay like sums for the same object. Charles replied that "the faith would suffer by any change," which meant that if judges and subordinates could not have their way with Morisco wives and maidens the cause of religion would suffer; and since the faith must be maintained and exalted at all cost, the women must put up with outrage and say nothing, lest the cause of Christ should languish!

The Cortes, or Parliament, of Toledo, in 1525, complained to Charles of the rascalities of the inquisitors and the lawlessness of the familiars, and asked that the secular judges might be empowered to protect citizens. Charles replied that if abuses existed he would have them corrected, but he never did so, and probably never thought of the matter again.

Those who can may take the stand that the Spanish monarchs who supported the Inquisition were sincere in their protestations of belief that the "faith" more than repaid them for maintaining it at such frightful cost; but the evidence is against that view of the case. They saw hundreds of innocent persons arrested, imprisoned, tortured, burned alive, and their families disrupted and disgraced. In return for this depopulation of the kingdom of its ablest and worthiest subjects, what did the monarchs gain by their adherence to the church? Nothing but the hypocritical prayers of the priests. Would sane men make such a bargain? They would not and never did. These monarchs tolerated and protected the Inquisition because the Inquisition was a great robbers' roost, and the priestly highwaymen shared their plunder with the

royal treasury. The facts do not support any other conclusion than that the Spanish monarchs were voluntary and deliberate accomplices in the crimes of the Inquisition because the blood of heretics could be coined into money.

As early as 1385 the old inquisitor Eymerich, who held office in Aragon at the pleasure of the Dominican authorities, complained that princes were unwilling to defray expenses because there were no rich heretics left whose confiscations excited their cupidity; hence the Inquisition in Aragon had fallen into innocuous desuetude. One hundred years later Aragon had filled up with wealthy New Christians, of Jewish lineage, thus providing something to tempt both fanaticism and greed, and Ferdinand resolved to revive the holy tribunal. Over this matter he had a falling out with Pope Sixtus IV., who wanted to know whether the Inquisition was a royal affair or a papal one, and whether the Holy See was to be altogether ignored in running it. Sixtus insisted that all appeals should be made to him instead of the king, for the right to entertain them was a very profitable one. Ferdinand replied that this was his Inquisition, and that if the Dominicans interfered with his pleasure he would break up the order.

The pope's rejoinder came in the form of a bull, in which, with fine hypocrisy, his holiness charged that for some time the inquisitors of Aragon had been moved not by zeal for the faith but by cupidity; that many faithful Christians, on the evidence of slaves, enemies, and unfit witnesses, without legitimate proofs, had been thrust into secular prisons, tortured, and condemned as heretics.

their property confiscated and their persons relaxed to the secular arm for execution; all of which was perfectly true, but as the same was true of the Inquisition everywhere, there was some assurance in the pope's quotation of Aragon as the particular scene of the infamies enumerated.

His holiness, in the bull aforesaid, goes on to declare that in view of the many complaints reaching him, he has ordered that in future the names and evidence of accusers and witnesses should be communicated to the accused, who should be allowed counsel, and that the evidence for the defense and all legitimate exceptions should be freely admitted; that imprisonment should be in the church jails; that for all oppression there should be free appeal to the Holy See, with suspension of proceedings, under pain of excommunication removable only by the pope.

Such a surrender of the pope to the New Christians or Conversos must have made his inquisitors everywhere "sit up and take notice," since here, for the first time in the history of the Inquisition, were orders that heretics should be treated as though they were human beings with rights which the Holy Office was bound to respect. The orders were not and never were intended to be carried out.

It had been an invariable rule in inquisitorial procedure that confession of heresy to a priest was good only in the matter of conscience and no bar to prosecution later on. But the Pope in this bull decreed that all who had been guilty of heresy should be permitted to confess secretly to the inquisitors or church officials, who were required to hear them promptly and confer absolution, good

in both the forum of conscience and that of justice, without abjuration, on their accepting secret penance, after which they could no longer be prosecuted for any previous acts, a certificate being given to them in which the sins confessed were not to be mentioned, nor were they to be vexed or molested thereafter in any way; and all this under pain of similar excommunication. It was ordered that this bull be read in all the churches, and that the names of those incurring censure under it be published and the censure enforced, while all proceedings in contravention of its provisions were declared to be null and void.

Ferdinand saw at once that this bull, putting a spoke in the wheel of his Inquisition in Aragon, had been paid for by the money of the New Christians, and, suspecting that Gonsalvo de Royz had acted as their agent, he ordered that person arrested and not released without his order.

It has to be admitted with regret that this decree whereby Sixtus threw down the gage of battle to Ferdinand was simply a tactical move, vulgarly denominated a bluff. It served two purposes; it apprised Ferdinand that its author must be placated in some way if the Inquisition of Aragon was to be carried on, and it filled the pockets of His Holiness with Converso money. Ferdinand treated it almost with indifference, but condescended to reply, pointing out that the pope's attempt to run an inquisition in Aragon without his assistance had resulted in the spread of heresy, and now its management must be left to royal hands.

The inquisitors, indeed, from their point of view,



had a genuine grievance against the popes. This was the venal protection the pontiffs extended to rich heretics, whereby the holy tribunal was defrauded of its victims and the confiscations. Ferdinand, too, when he saw the fortunes of his victims thus put beyond his rapacious grasp, awoke to the fact that he was being robbed, and besides addressing warning letters to his holiness at Rome, he promulgated by ordinance that any person, lay or ecclesiastical, who should make use of a papal indulgence to evade the jurisdiction of the Holy Office should be summarily put to death and his property confiscated to the crown. The popes, however, continued to sell exemptions from inquisitorial penalties to everyone with the means to pay for them, but they satisfied the king and his harpies of the Inquisition by informing them that they might treat his briefs as of no effect as regards the bodies and goods of the purchasers and holders of them, as his indulgences were spiritual and pertained only to their immortal souls! Thus by theological trickery and fraud the Vatican prolonged its rich harvest, while the purchasers of its bulls, on returning to Spain, were burnt by the Holy Office, and the goods they had not disposed of to pay the pope passed into the possession of the king and queen.

The Inquisition went on as before. Ferdinand had put his inquisitors on salary, and took all the confiscations himself. The Pope, who, as stated, had never intended that the humane provisions of his bull should go into effect, soon wrote that he was willing to consider the amending of his bull, and meanwhile suspended it so far as it contra-

vened the common law, the said common law being the traditional inquisitorial system. The only matter left to be adjusted was the division of the spoils. Says Lea: "Thus the unfortunate Conversos of Aragon . . . were merely used as pawns in the pitiless game of king and pope over their despoilment; and the merciful prescriptions of the bull of April 18 were only of service in showing that, in his subsequent policy, Sixtus sinned against light and knowledge." He knew how the Conversos ought to be treated, if they were to be prosecuted at all, and he had taken their money in payment for a decree in their favor; and then he bargained with the king for a share of the property wrested from them by methods as atrocious as those practiced by pirates on the high seas.

An Inquisition was set up in Valencia in 1484. Pressure from the throne overcame popular resistance and brought the little kingdom completely under the yoke. In four years the tribunal claimed a thousand victims. In a list of 983 reconciled, one hundred women are described as the wives or daughters of men who had been burned. As the Inquisition made a specialty of dealing with wealthy heretics, the dimensions of the sum which the sufferers contributed to its treasury may be imagined. The king had placed the royal palace at the disposal of the inquisitors and built for them the dungeons needed for the nefarious purposes of the Holy Office.

At this time the Conversos of Aragon, who felt themselves to be in danger of the Inquisition, began silently leaving the kingdom, which movement coming to the notice of Ferdinand he ordered the

authorities to adopt whatever means might be necessary to prevent the departure of all who were not firm in the faith. As there was no law by which this might be done, he instructed the Inquisitors to issue an edict forbidding anyone to leave the kingdom without their license under pain of being held as relapsed heretics in case of return. By this act was the Inquisition placed above the law, and it was held by the king that, being a spiritual power, the enforcement of its edicts did not therefore infringe on the liberties of the kingdom which the secular law had established!

In the last decade of the nineteenth century Judge Brewer of the United States Supreme Court, in deciding that the alien contract law did not apply to ministers of the gospel, remarked that it could never have been the intention of our law-makers to enact any statute that would stand in the way of the spread of the Christian religion. In defending the enforcement of the inquisitorial edict against the emigration of New Christians Ferdinand put forward a similar contention. "It is not to be imagined," he says, "that vassals so Catholic as those of Aragon would have demanded, or that kings so Catholic would have granted, fueros and liberties adverse to the faith and favorable to heresy." The American judge and the Spanish king came together on the point that the Christian religion is paramount to all law and all human rights. Ferdinand would not have objected so decidedly to the Conversos quitting the jurisdiction of the Inquisition if they had not carried with them property of which it was the function of that tribunal to relieve them in favor of the royal purse.

The inhabitants of Teruel, a fortified city of Aragon near the border of Castile, were somewhat open in their hostility to the Holy Office. When a brace of inquisitors were disengaged from a neighboring tribunal and sent there to set up an inquisition they were met at the gates by the magistrates and told that they could not come in. Teruel had already in its midst more of their breed than it wanted. The holy men thereupon withdrew to Cella, a village ten miles away, and thence shot at Teruel an edict excommunicating the magistrates. They also plastered the town with an interdict, which meant a suspension of church privileges. But if one priest could excommunicate, another could absolve; if one could lay an interdict, another could lift it. At no large cost a letter was procured from the pope, by virtue of which two resident clergymen turned the trick whereby the excommunication and interdiction of the town became as nought, and the people of Teruel went about their business. Ferdinand, waxing wroth, ordered that the two local priests be seized and held in chains, but nobody executed the order. The town was also commanded to submit under pain of such punishment as should make it a perpetual warning to the disobedient. All this produced no present effect on the hardened Teruelites. The Inquisition took a hand, and on October 2, 1484, fulminated a decree confiscating to the crown all the offices in Teruel and pronouncing the present incumbents incapable of holding any office of honor and profit. Ferdinand executed the inquisitorial decree by stopping the salaries of the Teruel officials. They declined to conform. When

as a final action the Inquisition invoked the aid of the secular arm and called on the king for a sufficient force to seize the magistrates and confiscate their property. In matters of this kind the property was never overlooked. The victims had to furnish the cost of the inquisitorial process. The church, the prelates, and the rich Catholics were all in favor of the Inquisition, but, as Guido Fulcodio put it, they were afflicted with constipation of the pocket when it came to paying the expenses.

Ferdinand responded to the summons of the Inquisition by an address to the officials of Aragon ordering them and the nobles to assemble all the horse and foot they could raise and put them at the services of the Inquisition. He would himself send a captain to take command. If they would escape the royal wrath, deprivation of office, a fine of twenty thousand gold florins, and such other penalties as it might please the king to impose, they must seize all of the inhabitants of Teruel, and their property, and deliver them to the Inquisition to be punished for their enormous crimes—which “crimes” consisted in holding their gates against the two inquisitors sent to set up in their city a slaughter house for heretics. The people of the village of Cella were at the same time ordered by the king to give the inquisitors their castle for a robbers’ roost, and to make all repairs necessary to its use as such, which meant the construction of dungeons and torture chambers. The Aragon officials and nobles evinced no enthusiasm for the discreditable job. They knew that delivering the Teruel people to the inquisitors entailed robbery, torture, and the stake for the men,



and the same, plus outrage, for the women. Having the interests of their fellow countrymen in view, they thought it better to let them enjoy their heresies and take their chances with the fiends of hell.

Not until Ferdinand had defied the fundamental laws of Spain which forbade the introduction of foreign troops into the kingdom, and drafted an army from Cuenca and Castile for the subjugation of the city, did the people of Teruel submit to the impositions of the inquisitors. Ferdinand placed over them a governor absolved from all obligation to respect any rights or privileges, and under orders from the king to banish all whom the inquisitors might designate. This placed the whole population at the mercy of the Holy Office, to be imprisoned, tortured, robbed, or exiled, for the Inquisition had full discretion regarding the fate of all citizens who had impeded its ingress and establishment. To reconcile the surrounding country to the sacking of Teruel, the inquisitors guaranteed the remission of all debts and rents which might be due to heretics who should be convicted and subjected to confiscation in that city. The guarantee rendered the dishonest debtor class eager for the success of the inquisitors and the punishment of heresy among the prosperous New Christians of Teruel who were their creditors. That was in 1486. Sixteen years later, having with the perjured testimony of the parties thus bribed convicted the Conversos of Teruel, and burned and plundered them, and having no further occasion for the debtors' services, the inquisitors, by the exercise of a treachery consistent with the char-

acter of their office, proposed to collect all the debts due to the confiscated estates!

The fate of Teruel warned other communities of the futility of open resistance to a system backed by the king with foreign mercenaries at his command and all rights abrogated. But the New Christians, driven to the wall, were under the necessity of taking desperate measures for the protection of their property, their families, and their lives. Those at Saragossa conceived that if a few inquisitors were to be assassinated the others might become discouraged or frightened away. That secret informations were on foot, gathering testimony against them from all sources, they were well aware; the life and fortune of every man had been placed at the disposal of the vilest wretch by Inquisitor Arbues, who sat in his office, with money at his elbow, ready to pay a satisfactory price for evidence of the right sort, whether true or false. A project for getting rid of Arbues took the form of hiring some assassins to compass his elimination. Arbues knew that he had deadly enemies, or at least that he had earned them; he wore a coat of mail and a steel cap, and carried a lance with him when he went to worship. The assassins, being duly engaged by the Conversos, came upon Arbues in the cathedral, kneeling in prayer between the high altar and the choir, with his lance leaning against a pillar. One of them, stealing up behind him, creased his neck with a dagger thrust between the joints of his armor. Another pierced his arm as he arose, while a third ran him through the body. Twenty-four hours later Arbues was dead.

The assassins of Arbues were Juan de Esperandeu, Vidau Durango, his servant; Juan de la Badia, and Mateo Ram and his squire Tristanico Leonis, with three masked men who remained unknown. Vidau Durango was the first to be caught and turned over to the inquisitors, who took the usual means to wring from him the details of the plot. Having learned all he knew his captors cut off his hands and nailed them to a door, and when dead his body was dragged to the market-place, beheaded and quartered, and the fragments suspended in the streets. The fate of Esperandeu was similar, except that he was dragged to the market-place alive, and there quartered and beheaded. La Badia, being sentenced to burning, broke a glass lamp and swallowed the fragments, which killed him. The next day his corpse was dragged and quartered and his hands were cut off. Mateo Ram suffered the loss of his hands, and was then burned.

Supernatural events followed the death of Arbues. On the night of his murder, if we may believe the liars who recorded the wonders of those days, the holy bell of Villela tolled without human hands, breaking the bull's pizzle with which the clapper was secured—surely an exercise of divine power. His blood, spilled in the cathedral, dried two weeks and then liquefied; when the conspirators concerned in his removal were examined by the inquisitors their mouths turned black and their tongues parched so that they could not speak until they had drank, and it was popularly believed that when, in trying to flee the kingdom, they reached the borders, they were paralyzed by the Almighty or the saints, and fell an easy prey to

their pursuers. All these wonders were utilized for what they were worth, but the most profitable miracle vouchsafed was that the trials of the conspirators "led to the discovery of innumerable heretics, who were duly penanced or burned."

On a populace capable of believing these inventions, the effect of the assassination was to cause a revulsion of feeling in favor of the Holy Inquisition. Catholics who had been hostile to the institution now became its advocates, and the city rang with the cry, "Burn the Conversos who have slain the inquisitor!" Blood called for blood. There was danger that the Inquisition would be cheated of its prey by a massacre of the New Christians. The frightened elders of Saragossa hastened to call a meeting, at which the prosecution of all concerned was authorized regardless of all the rights and customs of the kingdom. As a feature of the action taken to avenge the crime a proclamation was issued excommunicating all having knowledge of the conspiracy who should not within a given time come forward and reveal what they knew. The murder took place in 1485. Three years later, the wife of Gaspar de la Caballeria, probably having quarreled with her husband's brother Juan, bore to the Inquisition the tale that Juan had offered Gaspar five hundred florins to kill Arbues. Juan died in jail in 1490, and his body was burned, while Gaspar suffered in the auto-da-fe of 1492. Expressing approval of the murder of the inquisitor was among the crimes for which Pedro Sanchez was burned in 1489, and constituted the offense for which a woman named Brianda de Bar-daxi suffered imprisonment and the loss of one-

third of her property, although it could not be proved against her.

One result attributed to this murder was that Ferdinand and Isabella procured from Pope Innocent VIII. an order on all princes, rulers, and magistrates throughout Christendom to seize and deliver to the Inquisition of Spain all persons who should be designated to them. The powers upon whom the requisition was made were not to ask for proof; they had to make the surrender and provide safe-conduct to the frontier under pain of the penalties provided for sheltering heretics. "Fortunately for humanity," says Lea, "this atrocious attempt to establish a new international law by papal absolutism was practically ignored."

Ferdinand, on his own authority, and without awaiting the action of the pope, canonized the deceased Arbues; he established his veneration as a martyr, caused him to be worshiped like the holiest saint, and built him a splendid tomb. The holy see lagged in the recognition of Arbues, and it was not until 1867 that he was canonized as a martyr by Pius IX.

It had cost the conspirators six hundred florins (about \$640), one hundred of which went to the assassin, to effect the decease of Arbues. Its consequences were to cost scores of them their lives and fortunes, and probably as many of the innocent as of the guilty fell under condemnation. Llorente states that the victims of the crusade against the New Christians which followed the murder of the inquisitor numbered more than two hundred and Amidor de los Rios agrees with him; but Lea thinks this an exaggeration. He says: "I

find nine executed in person, besides two suicides, thirteen burned in effigy and four penanced for complicity. Besides these are two penanced for suborning false witness in favor of Luis de Santangel [an alleged conspirator, who was beheaded in the market-place, his head set on a pole, and his body burned], seventeen for aiding or sheltering the guilty, and two for rejoicing at the crime. Altogether fifty or sixty will probably cover the total of those who suffered in various ways."

The worst effect of the revulsion of feeling in favor of the Inquisition caused by the Arbues murder was that it gave the institution new life and enlarged the work of the Saragossa tribunal. Instead of making the position of inquisitor more dangerous, the crime made the life of the incumbent more secure and aggravated his insolence. The tribunal now moved its quarters to the structure, half palace, half fortress, outside the walls, known as the Aljaferia, and Ferdinand proclaimed that he and his successors took it under their special protection. Hitherto the receiver had been able to attend to all the confiscations himself; now he was empowered to appoint deputies throughout the land to attend to the increased work consequent upon the extensive confiscations which the new conditions had stimulated.

Llorente and Amidor may have exaggerated the number executed for complicity in the Arbues affair, but they do not overstate the total of victims of the Saragossa tribunal of the period covered by the prosecution of the conspirators. Between 1485 and 1492, according to the records, the



Saragossa Inquisition alone got away with 417 victims.

From the records unearthed by Lea, it is learned that the man who financed the voyage of Columbus which resulted in the discovery of America was a heretic. He was Luis de Santangel, cousin of the "conspirator" of the same name who had his head set on a pole, and he advanced 16,000 or 17,000 ducats (a ducat being worth \$1.40) to fit out the Genoese navigator's ships. He had his turn with the Inquisition in 1491, and again later on, when his property was confiscated. After his death, about 1500, Ferdinand was moved to return the plunder to his children.

The Santangels were noted heretics. Coming into notice at the time of the Arbues murder, they were conspicuous in the list of condemned during the following decade. Another numerous house in Aragon was that of the descendants of Alazar Usuf and his brother. These took the name of Sanchez. They were rich and held high offices of state. In 1486 the Inquisition began the work of extinguishing the family. Eleven were burned in person or in effigy before 1553, and during the same period eight of the Sanchez connection were penanced, which means confiscation of property and the laying of disabilities on descendants.

"It is unnecessary," observes the author of "The Inquisition of Spain," "to multiply examples of what was going on in Spain during those dreadful years, for Aragon was exceptional only so far as the industrious notary, Juan de Anchias, kept and compiled the records that should attest the indelible stain on descendants. There is something awful

in the hideous coolness with which he summarizes the lists of victims, too numerous to particularize: 'The Gomez of Huesca are New Christians, and many of them have been abandoned to the secular arm [to be burned], and many others have been reconciled'; 'The Zaportas and Benetes of Monzon . . . many of them have been condemned and abandoned to the secular arm.'"

It is an insoluble problem why the powers should have tolerated the existence of the Holy Inquisition while they frowned on pirates, road agents, and brigands.

Catalonia, one of the kingdoms of Aragon, furnished an example of the liberty-destroying power of the church-and-state protected league of assassins and freebooters called the Holy Inquisition. This little kingdom had advanced to a conception of rights and liberties, which it jealously guarded. The guarantees of these were systematically arranged and plainly written out in two volumes and two languages, Latin and Limosin, and kept open to the public, so that no citizen need be ignorant of his rights. Neither official nor king might violate them without opposition by every lawful means.

The Catalans never assented to the jurisdiction of Inquisitor-General Torquemada. They had an inquisitor of their own in the person of Juan Comte, who appears to have made his position a sinecure, for he gave the people no trouble, and as he held a papal commission he was not to be summarily superseded. Ferdinand placed a receiver of confiscations at Barcelona, and prepared to introduce the methods elsewhere prevailing. The

citizens took measures to prevent their inquisitor from displaying increased activity, and sent Ferdinand a message asserting their rights. The royal hypocrite and liar assured them they need not be alarmed about their rights and liberties, for the Inquisition would do nothing to violate them, would use no cruelty, and would treat all with justice and clemency. He added that further remonstrance on their part would be useless. Then he communicated with the pope, setting forth that the Catalan inquisitors commissioned by his holiness were not attending to business, and requesting that power be granted to himself and Isabella and Torquemada to appoint and remove inquisitors there at pleasure. Hearing nothing from the pontiff, the king had Torquemada send two appointees to Barcelona, ordering the Catalan officials, under pain of five thousand gold florins, to receive and convey them safely, to aid them in their work, to arrest and imprison in chains whomsoever the new inquisitors might accuse, and to inflict due punishment on all whom these individuals relaxed to the secular arm. Ferdinand's order was disregarded by the officials of Catalonia.

After two years of pressure Pope Innocent, whose opposition to Ferdinand's desires had been purchased and paid for by the Barcelona Conversos in 1484, yielded to the king, and removed the inquisitors holding papal commissions, thus giving Ferdinand and Torquemada a free hand, and the Barcelona Inquisition was soon in working order, manned by the breed of criminals who operated those of Cordova and Saragossa. In July, 1487, the municipal officials took the oath of obedience

to Inquisitor Alonso de Espina, in preference, doubtless, to being removed, racked, and penanced. Five months later the first procession of penitents took place, consisting of twenty-one men and twenty-nine women, and the next week there was another in which the participants were scourged in addition to being invested with the sanbenito. In January of the following year the first auto-da-fe was celebrated with four living victims and the effigies of twelve fugitives. In 1488 there were seven burnings and in 1489 three. Owing to the prejudice of local secular officials against the barbarities practiced in common by inquisitors and savages, and most favored by the church, the sufferers in these early autos were strangled before being burned. Ferdinand had to complain of the official slackness which permitted this clemency, and also that in the jurisdiction of the Barcelona Inquisition the work was not yielding what it should in the way of confiscations.

An incident is extracted from the Spanish archives of the Barcelona Inquisition to illustrate the overbearing tyranny of the inquisitors who, it had been promised by Ferdinand, would do nothing to violate the rights and liberties of the Catalans. It happened in 1494. The city of Tarragona had established a quarantine against Barcelona on account of pestilence. The Barcelona inquisitor, one Antonio de Contreras, with his subordinates, supposedly deserting their posts to escape the plague, presented himself at the gates of Tarragona and demanded admittance. All of the local officials, secular and ecclesiastic, came forth to meet him, and having explained the situation, suggested that

he seek some convenient place in the neighborhood and defer his entrance for a few days. Inquisitor Contreras waved all explanations aside, and told the officials of Tarragona that he would stand for a delay of just three misereres, whereupon they gave notice of appeal to the pope and went back to their duties. He mumbled the miserere thrice, and then, mouthing his censures, retreated in order to a nearby Dominican convent. From his quarters in the convent he fulminated his excommunication, and sent it to be affixed to the gates of Tarragona. While he was at supper a messenger came from the town and served him with the notice of an appeal to Rome. He had the messenger seized and thrown into the convent prison, but became frightened and gave him up when a mob from the town surrounded the building. A month later he entered Tarragona and spent six weeks extorting testimony as to the affair. As an upshot of the matter, all the dignitaries of Tarragona, secular and ecclesiastical, with the leading citizens, were compelled humbly to beg for pardon and absolution, and proffer submission to any penance he might name. He made them swear obedience to him, and appointed the following Sunday for the penance, when they were all obliged to attend mass as penitents, with lighted candles in their hands—a humiliation and disgrace by which they incurred an indelible stigma on themselves and their posterity. A modern Spanish revolutionist would have handed Inquisitor Contreras a lemon containing explosives enough to blow him out of sight; but the spirit of the Catalans was broken.

No one but the king could interfere with the in-

quisitors. Secular officials, from the lieutenant-general down, were forbidden by him to take cognizance of their acts or those of their subordinates, under penalty of a fine of two thousand florins, and as for a private citizen, he might almost as safely commit an assault on the royal person himself as offer resistance to a familiar of the Holy Office though it were to protect a woman of his family from violation. Replying to the Catalan deputies, who in 1505 represented to him that the supremacy of the inquisitors destroyed the constitution of the land, he warned them that the jurisdiction of the Inquisition superseded all others, and that no rights or laws could stand in its way. If the Catalans remembered his promise that the Inquisition should interfere with none of their constitutional guarantees, they must have realized, when this became the public law of Catalonia and of Spain, that their sovereign was a perfidious liar.

And if Ferdinand was known to have no regard for truth, his spouse, Isabella, could keep up the reputation of the family in that behalf. When the rapacity of the royal pair had created a scandal that could not be ignored, Isabella wrote to the bishop of Segovia to defend herself in advance against an accusation no one as yet had had the courage to formulate. The queen said to the bishop: "I have caused great calamities. I have depopulated towns and provinces and kingdoms for the love of Christ and of his holy mother, but I have never touched a maravedi of confiscated property; and I have employed the money in educating and dowering the children of the condemned." Isabella must have been the original borrower of the



cracked kettle. In the first place, she had never touched the confiscated property, and in the second place she spent it on the offspring of the heretics! Examination of state papers has shown that Isabella's disclaimer was a deliberate and unqualified falsehood. She probably had clothes bought with stolen heterodox money on her back when she wrote the letter to the bishop of Segovia. Historians who would minimize the atrocities of the Inquisition and the number of its victims must prove that Isabella was also lying when she admitted having 'depopulated towns and provinces and kingdoms for the love of Christ and his holy mother,' but unfortunately the records prove that in this matter she told the truth. On occasions she had to chide her inquisitors because they carried the depopulating process too far or too fast.

With the royal license to do whatever it chose, the Barcelona Inquisition took up the business of a collection agency "on the side." It bought up private claims and then employed its despotic power to collect them. It is recorded that one Juan de Trillo owed to Franci Ballester a debt of 228 libras. Ballester sold his claim to the receiver of confiscations for 100 libras, and with the aid of the machinery at his command the receiver collected the whole amount from De Trillo. Of course a fraudulent claim was as readily enforced by this process as a valid one. The proceeding was reported to Ferdinand, but the monarch merely admonished the receiver, who thereafter contented himself with a commission of ten per cent. Ferdinand did not approve, but the knavish receiver continued in office. As a share of the blood

money he extorted went to the royal robber himself, it would not do to remove so profitable a servant of the crown.

The Majorquins were, as difficult to reconcile to the Inquisition of Ferdinand and Torquemada as the Catalans had been. Majorca is the largest of the Balearic Islands to the east of the Spanish mainland, and in the fifteenth century it claimed to be a separate and independent kingdom. There had long been a resident inquisitor there under the old papal arrangement, but the records show that he celebrated no autos-da-fe, delivered no victims to the secular arm to be punished, and scarcely more than a dozen Judaizers were reconciled under his jurisdiction. The new Inquisition, introduced in Majorca in 1488, changed all this, having 351 "cases" the first year. In 1489 there were seven autos and fifty relaxations—the delivering of convicted heretics to the secular authorities, who, in deference to the inquisitors' pious aversion to the shedding of blood, burned them alive.

The royal and papal edicts against the emigration of New Christians seems not to have been enforceable in Majorca, for there was such an exodus of prospective victims that the Inquisition was obliged to deal mainly with effigies of the fugitive and deceased, which it burned, and whose estates it confiscated to the great pecuniary profit of the Holy Office and of the royal treasury. Another source of income was extensively drawn upon by the Majorcan Inquisition. Working upon the fears of descendants that their ancestors should be delated and their property seized, the inquisitors invented the expedient of "composition," the fright-

ened parties paying them a percentage of their fortunes as a species of insurance against confiscation. That no property might escape this tax, an offer of fifty per cent was made to informers who should reveal any that had been concealed by its possessor. The Majorca Inquisition not only paid expenses but was so remunerative that Ferdinand was always sure of a favorable response when he called upon its receiver for a few hundred golden ducats with which to discharge his debts or sweeten his treasury.

It was a result to be foreseen that with the Inquisition so active in all parts of the kingdom, the supply of heretics to fill its dungeons and feed its fires and pockets must at length become exhausted, and that if the Holy Office was to continue to subsist and make money it must extend its jurisdiction to include other crimes than that of religious error. This it did, assuming the power to try cases of usury, blasphemy, bigamy, necromancy, and so forth. This necessitated the increase of the number of its familiars to a multitude, brought it into conflict with the civil powers, and added fresh burdens to those who paid the taxes. Ferdinand made promises of reform, but they were "writ in water." And what could he do? After imposing the Inquisition on his subjects under the guarantee that their rights should not be interfered with, and then abrogating all their rights in favor of the Holy Office by making it supreme over all law, he could not revoke its powers without discrediting himself with the inquisitors as he had with the people. And so he did nothing but make promises which he did not expect to fulfill.

In 1512 the Catalans uttered a demand for reforms, enumerating the abuses which characterized the conduct of the Inquisition in their kingdom. Its familiars had multiplied until with their privileges and exemptions they had become intolerable. Some of them had criminal records prior to their appointment to office. These familiars exercised the privilege of bearing arms, which was unlawful; they enjoyed exemption from local taxes and imposts; they could not be molested or impeded by local officials though caught in the commission of crime; they engaged in trade without any of the restrictions, such as customs duties, imposed on other merchants. Landlords were transferring claims for rent to the Inquisition, which employed its machinery to collect them. Persons reputed to be good Christians lost their property by confiscation; and those who had bought property of them were obliged to surrender it to the Inquisition, thus losing it, or if they had paid such convicts debts owing them, they must pay the second time to the inquisitors. The dowries of Catholic wives were confiscated because their husbands had been convicted of heresy. Property held for thirty years by a good Catholic was confiscated on the former owner being convicted of heresy. All dealings with Conversos were prohibited, thus restraining trade and involving individuals in danger through ignorance. Excommunications were secretly issued, so it was impossible for one to know whether he was under the ban or not, yet remaining under excommunication for a year incurred suspicion of heresy. The officials of the Inquisition interfered with civil officers in matters pertaining to the

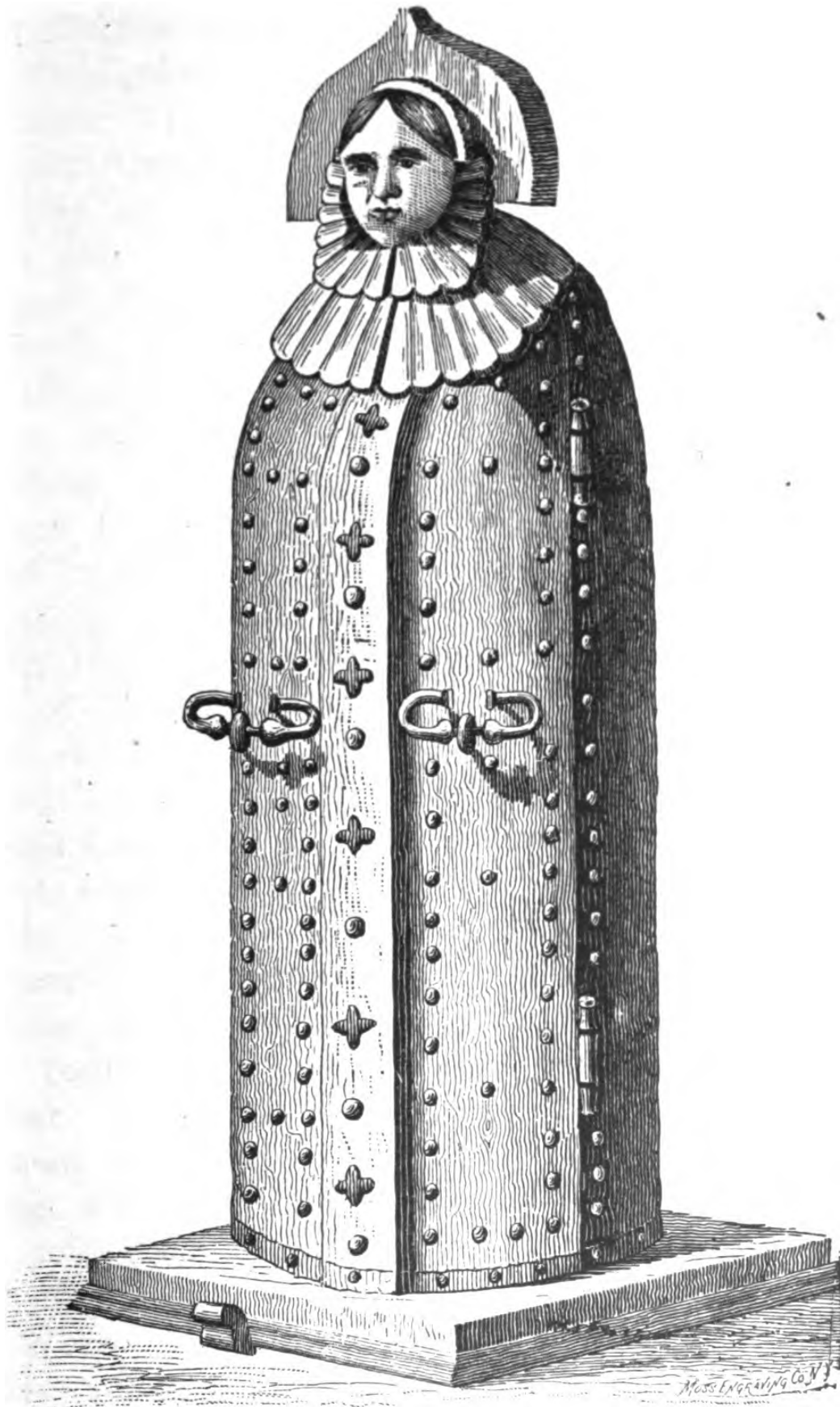
functions of the latter, and disregarded the rights of the state. Innocent men were convicted and executed on perjured testimony, and the false witnesses went unpunished. In consideration of the payment from the public revenues of 600 libras per annum to the Barcelona tribunal, Ferdinand and his inquisitors agreed to reform these abuses. It is scarcely necessary to state that they took the money and violated the agreement.

Potentates desiring to go back on their word could always buy permission to do so from the pope. In 1513 Ferdinand availed himself of that recourse, and Pope Leo X. dispensed him and Bishop Enguera, at that time inquisitor-general, from their oaths to observe the agreement with the Catalans. Four years later, under King Charles and Queen Juana, the pledge was renewed and confirmed by the pope, but the inquisitors refused to be bound by its provisions, on the ground that it was invalid as impeding the jurisdiction of the Holy Office. Subsequently, to wit in 1515, Charles agreed, in consideration of the sum of 200,000 libras raised in Aragon, to a set of articles like those drawn up by Jean le Sauvage for Castile (see p. 101). In making oath to observe the articles, he also swore that he would not seek a dispensation from this oath: nevertheless he soon instructed his ambassador at Rome to procure the revocation of the articles and a dispensation from his oath of fidelity to them. The pope suspended judgment in the matter, and finally died without having either released Charles or revoked or confirmed the articles. The Aragonese paid the subsidy to Charles, but the articles became a dead let-

ter; the inquisitors repudiated them as non-existent, and no trace is found of their having been observed.

How do those misguided persons who hold that the king and the inquisitors were honest bigots explain this perfidy—the fact that neither pope nor monarch nor inquisitor ever made good or kept his sworn promises? We have seen that Ferdinand affixed his signature under oath to a series of articles presented by the Catalans, and was then “dispensed” by the pope from redeeming his word. That was in 1512. In 1520, by dint of payment of a huge sum to the pope, to the king, and to the Inquisition the people of Catalonia procured the renewal of that agreement, with the additional article that criminal offenses committed by officials of the Inquisition should be punished by civil authorities. The new article was aimed at a great abuse, for by the exercise of what is termed “exterritoriality” when practiced by Christian missionaries in the Orient, the Inquisition alone had jurisdiction, under the king, over the criminals it employed as familiars, who were turned loose on an unprotected community like wolves among sheep. When the inquisitor-general, Cardinal Adrian, and the king had sworn to observe the articles of the agreement (which was called a *concordia*), and when Pope Leo X. had confirmed them, the Catalans paid over the coin and felt as secure as they might in view of the notorious treachery of the parties with whom they were dealing. The first case that arose, in 1523, proved how false was their security. An inquisitor named Naverdu appears to have been persecuting the wife of Juan Noguer,





**Iron Virgin.**

and thereby came into conflict with the authorities of Perpignan. King Charles obtained from Pope Clement VII. a brief referring the matter to Inquisitor-General Manrique, with the result that "nearly all the magistrates of Perpignan—the consuls and jurados, with their lawyers and Canon Miguel Roig of Elna, who had ordered Inquisitor Naverdu to observe the Concordia—were obliged to swear obedience in all things to the Inquisition, were exposed to the irredeemable disgrace of appearing as penitents at the mass, and were subjected to fines from which the Holy Office gathered in the comfortable sum of 1115 ducats" (about \$1,560).

In 1632, by deeds of personal violence, the people of Catalonia were beginning to make the familiars suffer what they had themselves borne at the hands of these agents of the Inquisition, and the breed bade fair to be exterminated. The nobles were especially hostile to the heretic-hunting brigands. A viceroy, the Duke of Cardona, imprisoned a familiar for carrying a pistol and refusing to surrender it, and arrested two servants of the receiver of confiscations, fining one and discharging the other. When the excommunication had been withdrawn he released the priest and the fiscal. The king, when appealed to by the inquisitors, as much as told them they made him tired, and he requested the viceroy not to try any more familiars.

When Catalonia rebelled against Castile and in 1641 submitted to French rule, the Catalan Inquisition was confronted with serious problems, one of which concerned the prosecution of the Calvinists in the French army. Many of the

troops were of the Protestant faith, which was openly preached. The Suprema decided to let the soldiers alone. In 1643 the Catalans had a national Inquisition. It avoided the Calvinists in the French army, but celebrated an auto the next year, garroting and burning one victim, and penancing (plundering) two. Three years later a sodomite was executed and six men and five women penanced for bigamy and sorcery. The withdrawal of the French army caused the collapse of the Catalan rebellion, when, owing to the heresies disseminated by the French, there was plenty for a reestablished Inquisition to do. The Catalan inquisitors, who had held office during the rebellion, were arrested and deported, and the appointees of Philip put in their places. The new tribunal created the accustomed turmoil, and the old conflicts between the spiritual and the secular authorities recurred. But for the promise of fat confiscations of the property left by the Catalans who had fled to France, Philip must have regretted that he had reestablished it in Catalonia. The hated institution was withdrawn when in 1671 war again broke out and Catalonia acknowledged the Archduke Charles as Carlos III., and became the stronghold of the Austrian party, but returned as fierce as ever in 1715. Then all the liberties and privileges of Catalonia were abrogated. Lea says that the Catalan "looked with exultation on the triumph over heresy in the autos-da-fe, and he desired only to set bounds to the intrusion of the Inquisition on the field of secular justice." Therefore while the Inquisition is to be detested for its abuse of power, it is hard to feel any great sympathy for the

bigots who suffered from it. The Inquisition was a thing to be destroyed, not reformed.

The Inquisition was insolent and defiant. It was charged by the three kingdoms of Aragon with a long series of offenses, including such abuses as employing criminals as familiars and protecting them in their crimes. King Charles drew the attention of Inquisitor-General Manrique to these charges. Knowing that no individual would expose himself to the vengeance of the tribunal by coming forward with testimony, Manrique asked for specifications and names of complainants. Of course neither were forthcoming.

An inquisitor could not be held for trial by a secular court, no matter what his crime. Joan Ribas, a familiar, drew his sword on and threatened the life of one of the consuls holding the admiralty court of Barcelona in 1534—an offense against the dignity of the crown under whose protection the court was held; but Charles found it more profitable to support the Inquisition than to maintain his own dignity. Inquisitor Loazes, the superior of Ribas, claimed the prisoner and demanded the withdrawal of all proceedings against him under pain of excommunication. Loazes won out by his audacity, and having fulfilled his duties as inquisitor of Barcelona, he held four bishoprics in succession and died Archbishop of Valencia.

In 1645, at Cuenca, in Castile, Don Alonso Munoz, an accountant of the Inquisition, sent a band of assassins to murder a woman with whom he had illicit relations. A priest named Jacinto was also to be killed. Munoz surrendered himself

to the Inquisition, which assumed jurisdiction, promptly excommunicating a judge who attempted to prosecute him for the murder. Philip once and again demanded that Munoz be delivered to the Council of Castile, but his repeated orders were disobeyed and the criminal effectively shielded from justice.

At the close of his first book on the Inquisition in Spain, Dr. Henry Charles Lea pauses to make these reflections: "The system grew to be an integral part of the national institutions, to be uprooted only by the cataclysms of the French Revolution and the Napoleonic war. At what cost to the people this was effected is seen in the boast, in 1638, of a learned official of the Inquisition that in its favor the monarchs had succeeded in breaking down the municipal laws and privileges of their kingdoms, which otherwise would have presented insuperable obstacles to the extermination of heresy; and he proceeds to enumerate the various restrictions on the arbitrary power of the secular courts which the experience of ages had framed for the protection of the citizen from oppression, all of which had been swept away where the Inquisition was concerned, leaving the subject to the discretion of the inquisitor."

The system was made possible by the superstitious veneration of the people among whom it existed for the Roman Catholic faith, as well as by their fear of the power of excommunication which it wielded. Their bigotry permitted it to live. It thrived by reason of the papal sanction and encouragement, and enjoyed the favor of kings because it was a source of revenue and brought a

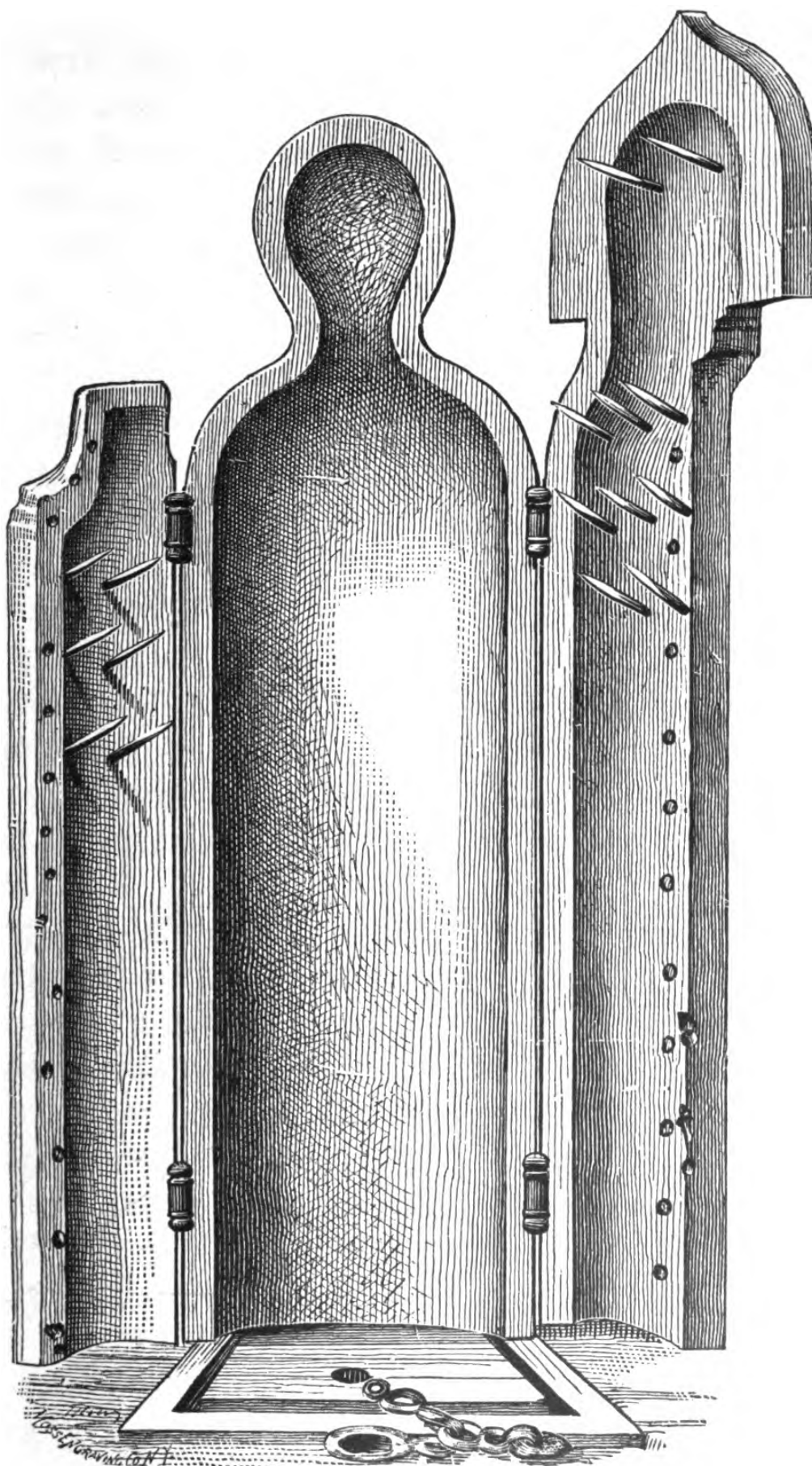
flow of coin to the royal treasuries. No protest would ever have been raised in Catholic Spain against its cruelties had it confined itself to the persecution and spoliation of heretics. Catholics had ample grounds to complain of the abuses of the Inquisition, and yet it only did to them occasionally what they were willing and eager that it should do to heretics all of the time.

While the Inquisition was set up in Spain by a bull of the pope, and while religion furnished the bigotry which licensed its infamies, it derived its efficiency from the king, who had the power of appointing and removing its officials, who from the beginning claimed the proceeds of all confiscations, and later gathered in also the pecuniary penances. He paid the salaries of the inquisitors with orders on the receivers of confiscations, whom he was also accustomed to draw on when short of funds to pay his own debts. Thus he had the Holy Office under his thumb; and while he never interfered in behalf of a heretic, in the name of clemency or mercy or even innocence, the official suspected of holding out anything when making his financial report heard from him at once. There was nothing to be gained by saving a subject from torture and death; there was much to be gained by inspecting the accounts of the inquisitors and making sure that they attended assiduously to the confiscations, sold the property to the best advantage, and passed the money over to him. On a few occasions he spoke to the inquisitors in behalf of some favorite, but disclaimed any spiritual jurisdiction, and royal favor availed nothing against the ferocity of the tribunals of the Catholic God.



It is a fact worthy of notice that the Inquisition under Ferdinand was restricted in its operations to the prosecution of professed Christians. Infidels, Moors, and Jews were exempt. They might become the prey of the king, as defender of the faith, but the discipline of the Inquisition was in Spain confined to simple heretics—those who acknowledged themselves to be Catholics, but were guilty of speech or practice that was to be construed as opposed to the church. Thus when in 1508 the leading barons of Aragon reported that the inquisitors were persecuting the Moors and endeavoring to coerce them into receiving baptism, Ferdinand rebuked the officials of the Inquisition severely, admonishing them that “conversion through conviction is alone pleasing to God and that no one is to be baptized except on voluntary application.” In this he was the hypocrite, as usual, since he owed all of his Converso or New Christian subjects to coercion—threats of death, exile or confiscation. Perhaps these had “voluntarily” applied for baptism, but they did so under compulsion nevertheless. It is surprising to find that there were still Moors in Spain in 1508, when we recall that the dying word of the monarch by whose sufferance they remained, demanded “the destruction of the sect of Mohammed.” These had probably compounded with the king for their immunity; otherwise there is no explanation of his order to the inquisitors, when some Moors had been converted and had been deserted by their wives and children, to permit such families to return and not to coerce them into baptism.

One of the most corrupt of the inquisitors-gen-



**Iron Virgin Ready to Receive a Victim.**

eral was the German Jesuit Johann Nithard, the favorite and confessor of the queen-regent, Maria Ana of Austria. In 1668 he boasted that he had had charge of the queen's conscience for twenty-four years, during which she had kept him constantly with her. His appointment as inquisitor-general was a public scandal. He filled the "Holy Office" with Jesuits, and accumulated to himself pensions amounting to sixty thousand ducats (\$84,000) a year. He was forced to resign and driven out of Spain by popular clamor.

The claim of the Inquisition that its jurisdiction was spiritual and not secular would if granted make it superior to any earthly ruler and deprive the king of power to protect his subjects from aggression. It was pointed out that, although princes have authority to relieve their subjects when aggrieved by other secular subjects, they have none when the oppressors are ecclesiastics, exempt by divine law from kingly jurisdiction. "It would be difficult," comments Lea, "to enunciate more boldly the theory of theocracy, with the Inquisition as its delegate, and the crown merely the executor of its decrees."

Impudent as is this claim of the inquisitors, it was for hundreds of years acknowledged and enforced. Royal officials must make oath to support the Inquisition, and to exempt from all penalties for their misdeeds its officers, their families and servants, but the Inquisition made no vow of fealty to the state. It was supereminent. And not satisfied with the official oaths, it must at all autos-da-fe administer a most binding oath to the whole populace and to the sovereign. The Inquisi-

tion and its members were protected in every way from subjection to local laws and regulations. An edict of Charles V., in 1523, forbade all municipalities or other bodies from adopting statutes which should in any way curtail their privileges or be adverse to them, and if any such should be attempted, he declared them in advance to be null and void. Another immunity added to the power of the inquisitors. They were exempt from military duty, but were allowed to go armed while other citizens were not. They were "sacred" in their persons, and no judgment of blood could be rendered against them.

"Another weapon of tremendous efficacy was the power of arrest, possessed and exercised at will during the greater portion of the career of the Inquisition. To gratify mere vindictiveness, by merely asserting that there was a matter of faith, the inquisitor could throw any one into the secret prison. The civil magistrate might thus abuse his authority with little damage to the victim, but it was otherwise with the Inquisition. In the insane estimate placed on 'limpieza de sangre,' or purity of blood, the career of a man and of his descendants was fatally narrowed by such a stain on his orthodoxy; it mattered little what was the outcome of the case, the fact of imprisonment was remembered and handed down through generations, while the fact of its being causeless was forgotten. In the later period, when the Suprema supervised every act of the tribunals, the opportunities for this were greatly restricted, but during the more active times the ill-will of an inquisitor could at any moment inflict this most serious in-

jury, and the power was often recklessly abused in the perpetual conflicts with the secular authorities. The ability thus to destroy at a word the prospects in life of any man was a terrible weapon, which goes far to explain the awe with which the inquisitor was regarded by the community" (Lea's *History of the Inquisition in Spain*, i., 357).

Having got the secular authority under its heel, the Inquisition set about demonstrating that it stood also above the bishops, or the local ecclesiastical authorities. Acknowledging only the pope as its spiritual superior, it demanded precedence over the churches. When an episcopal letter or mandate was to be published, the inquisitors must have the first reading of it, so that its authority might pass through them. The priests might read it later. Secretaries of the Inquisition invaded churches and read out orders from the Holy Office before the letter even of an archbishop could be presented. If the priests opposed, they were arrested. Congregations must bow to the inquisitors during the reading of the ritual; at public functions they took first place away from ecclesiastics, magistrates, and city authorities. The only appeal was to the king, and if he decided against them they ignored his decision. This supereminence was endured until 1747, when Fernando VII. gave them a calling down for their insolence at a bull-fight, and issued a decree which proclaimed that the king's representatives were preeminent.

In Spain in the seventeenth century there was a tax of half a year's salary on appointees to office. The inquisitors claimed the privilege of holding office, but refused to pay the tax. The outcome

was that ecclesiastics were exempt, while laymen were not. The exemption from taxation, which included import and export duties on merchandise for the use of the Inquisition, led to the claim for other privileges, which of course were soon secured. The inquisitors themselves not only might pass customs officials without having their sacred packages examined, but they could issue passes for whatever contraband trader might be able to purchase them. In 1593 some familiars of the Inquisition were detected in importing prohibited goods and official letters were issued against them. Philip II. ordered that the letters should be recalled and no more issued. When frontier officials interfered with agents of the tribunal carrying on a prohibited traffic, they were excommunicated and the guards arrested. Philip II. had to interfere in 1597 because the excess of letters which the Inquisition issued authorizing exports and imports was causing a scandal. There was, however, no reform. The Inquisitors made the fraudulent pretense of necessity in the service of God, but the whole business was a speculation, the letters being sold to the highest bidder and the proceeds fobbed by the Holy Office.

In addition to freedom from imposts, the Inquisition, whether purchasing for consumption or sale, abused its powers to coerce unwilling dealers to sell their goods. Did a local council forbid the sale of food-stuffs for exportation, for fear of famine or high prices at home, and apply the rule to the inquisitors, they were coerced with threats of excommunication. One tribunal issued orders



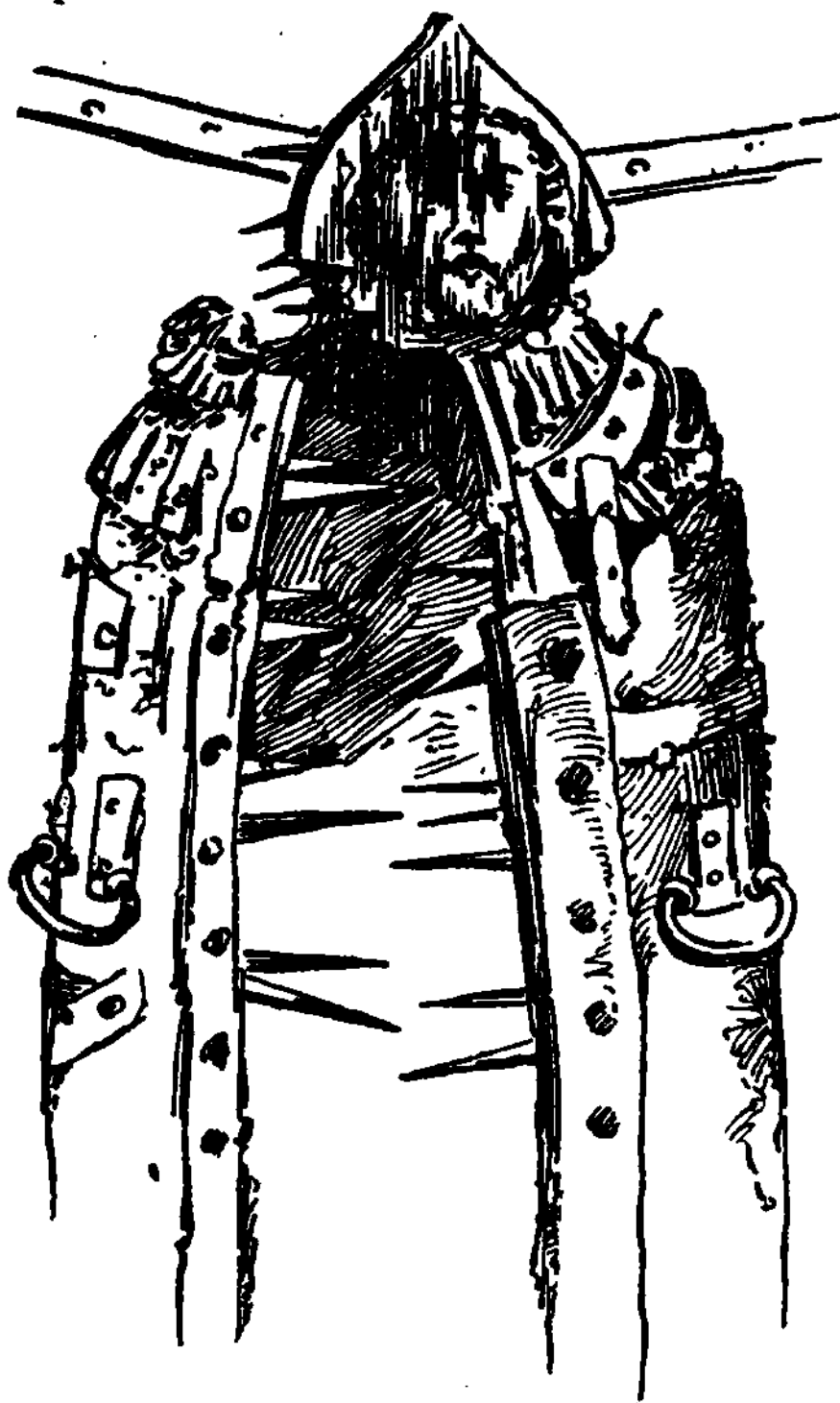
to a merchant to furnish it with wheat under pain of a hundred lashes.

Inquisitors visiting a city to establish a local tribunal claimed free quarters from a resident. A decree of Ferdinand provided that they should have gratuitous lodging and beds. But if they enjoyed free quarters they had no mind for giving them, and all connected with the institution claimed to be exempt from the billeting of troops or the furnishing of beasts of burden for transportation. All other citizens had to bear this tax on their resources, but Inquisitor-General Valdes ordered, 1548, that "no billets must be given on houses occupied by inquisitors or officials, even though not their own or during their absence, for their clothes were in them." The inevitable effect of the exemption was to increase the number of familiars until they had become a multitude. Philip V. in 1728 endeavored to correct the abuse, but his orders were disregarded as usual. The immunities of a familiar made the office a desirable one, and even caused criminals to impersonate familiars. In Barcelona in 1568 a guardian of the peace on his nightly rounds arrested Franco Foix, whom he found armed in a coat of mail, with sword, buckler, and dagger. Foix pretended to be a familiar and was obediently turned over to the tribunal, which fined him for its own benefit and turned him loose with his weapons restored. Scores of cases are recorded of conflict of authority between the tribunal and civil authorities, in which the latter were invariably worsted, the offending officials being dealt with as heretics, thrown into secret dungeons, and persecuted with the custom-

ary savagery of the inquisitors. All these outrages were committed under the assumption of the Holy Office that the privileges of its agents were imprescriptible and could not be abrogated by any prince, as that would impede the Inquisition in the free exercise of its functions, in which all good Catholics were under oath to sustain it. King Carlos II. in 1691 prohibited the carrying of weapons by familiars, but for another hundred years, almost, the Inquisition continued to grant them unlimited license.

The election of local secular officials in Spain was accomplished not by popular vote, but by a process known as "insaculacion." The names of candidates were placed in a bag and drawn. The officers of the Inquisition deemed themselves eligible for the positions thus filled, and submitted their names for *insaculacion*, imposing, however, the condition that if chosen for a position entailing hard work and poor pay they should be under no obligation to serve. They would be *insaculated* for the fat offices, but not for the lean ones. The power of the Inquisition is shown in the fact that their claim was sustained, and those who opposed it were imprisoned *incommunicado*, excommunicated, censured, and fined, the Inquisition managing to reap a rich pecuniary harvest from its crimes.

The houses of officials of the Inquisition were sanctuaries which the officers of justice might not enter. In Perpignan, in the jurisdiction of the Barcelona tribunal, some criminals pursued by an officer and his men took refuge in the house of a familiar. The familiar resisted the officer



A Nuremberg Relic of Iron Virgin.

and then had him and his men imprisoned for a long period in the Barcelona Inquisition, after which they were condemned to fines and exile. In Majorca the Count of Ayamano, at the head of a band of assassins, climbed the walls of a convent to murder his wife who had taken refuge there. He escaped to Barcelona with eight of his band, and all found asylum in the Inquisition, which the king's officers could not invade.

To settle cases arising out of the conflicting jurisdiction of church and state there was organized in Spain a tribunal composed of two members each of the Suprema, representing the Inquisition, and the council of the kingdom, representing the people. The tribunal was called a *competencia*. It was a clumsy process. No way was found of compelling the Suprema to appoint members, without which the tribunal could not act, and during the delay, while the prisoners languished or died in its dungeons, the Inquisition could find ways of ruining their families and confiscating their property.

When the crimes of the Inquisition provoked popular disapproval too far, the inquisitors would themselves propose reforms and issue articles forbidding some of the worst abuses—but they never enforced these reforms. The fair promises of the sanctified cutthroats served only to quiet temporarily the public clamor, and during the lull the inquisitors went forward to fresh aggressions. They had enlisted as their accomplices, called familiars, thousands of felons and assassins whom they protected. In the outskirts of Valencia, in a coach with some Dominican frailes (friars), Don Martin Santis was mur-

dered. Four familiars, notorious for their criminal record, were arrested by the officers of justice. The Inquisition claimed them and a "competencia" was called for. The Marquis of los Velez improved the occasion to let Philip IV. know what the criminals of the Inquisition were doing in Valencia under the protection of the holy tribunal. The representation which reached Philip says there is no peace or safety to be hoped for in Valencia unless there is an improvement in the breed of familiars, who are either principals or accomplices in all the crimes committed there. They follow their careers of blood in full confidence of escaping with the help of the tribunal, which has never failed to set them at liberty, no matter how atrocious their crimes. Everywhere familiars are the leading felons and chief disturbers of the peace. In hardly any place is there trouble in which familiars are not concerned, and they daily become more insolent and lawless through freedom from punishment. It is almost impossible to get witnesses to testify against these malefactors, for they know the accused ruffians will shortly be released to avenge themselves. All the viceroyalties have recognized these impediments to justice, for they know that these wretches seek the position of familiars and their immunity in order to be free to commit crimes.

Of the assassins of Don Martin Santis only one is known to have been punished. Jaime Blau received a sentence of banishment and suffered a fine of 300 ducats (\$420). The Inquisition wanted his money more than it wanted his life. The eagerness of the inquisitors to get jurisdiction over

its criminals is explained by the profit accruing to the Holy Office through the fines which it substituted for corporal punishments in cases where the death penalty was due. The report reaching Inquisitor-General Valdes that his familiars were bankrupts, embezzlers, thieves, bandits, and homicides of notoriously evil lives, who had taken office under him to avoid payment and punishment, he said that "the Inquisition had need of all kinds of officials for its various functions."

The absolute power of the Inquisition began to be conditioned about the middle of the seventeenth century. Inquisitor Lazaeta of the Aragon tribunal had as his mistress a married woman of San Anton. Her husband, growing suspicious of the attentions of the holy man, pretended to start on a journey, but concealed himself nearby to watch his house. The guilty pair fell to it. The woman sent for her lover, Inquisitor Lazaeta, which vindicator of the purity of the faith left his carriage out of sight, instructing his coachman to wait for him. The coachman had a protracted stay, for the injured husband, Miguel Choved, entered the house by a side door and so wounded his wife's paramour with a sword that he died on reaching the street. Choved disappeared, but wanting a victim the Inquisition arrested one Francis Arnal as an accessory. As he was plainly guiltless, the Court of Justicia issued a "manifestation" in his favor. That angered the inquisitors, but they refrained from excommunicating the magistrates, showing they realized that control of the situation was slipping from their grasp. This was in 1647. The restricting of the tribunal

to its proper functions, so-called, diminished the terror in which it was held, and, what was equally calamitous, affected its finances.

In Catalonia, some years later, the Inquisition was more deeply humiliated. A messenger and notary, by order of the tribunal, were conveying from Perpignan to Barcelona two government officials accused of impeding the Inquisition, and also a prisoner under a charge of heresy. Led by a deputy, an armed band seized the whole party and carried them back to Perpignan, where they were taken through the streets like criminals on the way to execution, and locked up, to be later discharged without further proceedings. The Holy Office had been insulted and a heretic allowed to escape, but it never obtained redress.

We have seen that the inquisitorial department of the church claimed precedence over the episcopal department, and that the inquisitors set themselves up as the superiors of the bishops. Taking this view of its own importance, the Inquisition assumed jurisdiction over the priests, and so came in conflict with the spiritual courts of the church from which it derived its authority. And the prelates who incurred its wrath were worse off than the civil officials, who had the local councils to support them; but the councils of course had no standing in ecclesiastical quarrels. At first the bishops appealed to Rome—a recourse from which they were soon shut off by King Philip, who wanted no communication with the pope carried on over his head, and he told all the prelates of his dominion that their grievances against the inquisitors must be appealed to the Suprema, the

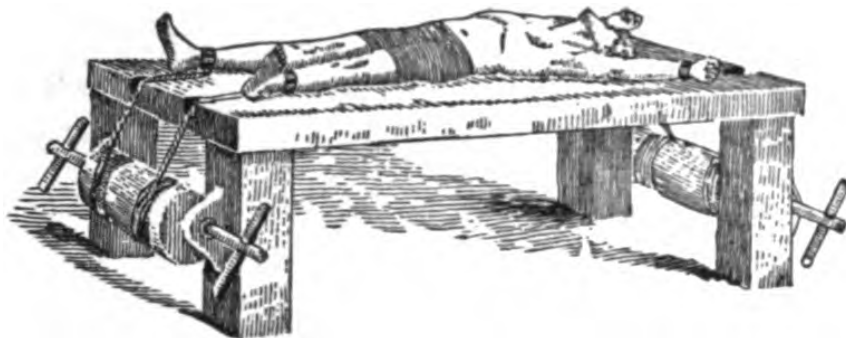


Supreme Council of the Inquisition, which was like appealing from the hungry cubs to the old tigers. The first move against an obdurate ecclesiastic was to order a boycott on him, all persons being forbidden under pains and penalties to serve him with anything; then he was anathematized in the language of the one hundred and ninth Psalm, and as a further step a cessation of church services in his city was imposed, thus appealing to popular clamor.

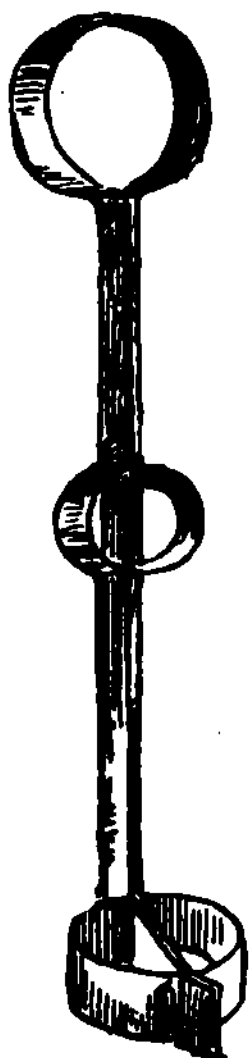
The ecclesiastical courts undertook to discipline their own priests, being supplied with machinery for that purpose, including prosecutors and jails. The prosecutor was a church dignitary of high rank called the provisor. The case of a priest in Cabra furnishes an example of inquisitorial usurpation of authority. The priest was notoriously guilty of habitual incest and concubinage. The provisor of Cordova began a prosecution and put him in the jail attached to the ecclesiastical court. He claimed the jurisdiction of the Inquisition, which was tender toward criminals who acknowledged its supremacy by presenting themselves before its tribunal in preference to other courts. The inquisitors inhibited the provisor from further proceedings. He took an appeal to the Suprema and was excommunicated by the Cordova inquisitors. The incestuous priest escaped from the episcopal jail and was harbored by the tribunal. A gang of familiars broke into the episcopal palace, and in a fight with the canons over the person of the provisor left that official in so battered a condition that he took to his bed. The inquisitors then resorted to the pretense that it was a matter of

faith, summoned to their aid the municipal authorities and a troop of soldiers, and carried the provisor, on his bed, to the Inquisition, where he was immured for two months, tried without opportunity for defense, and sentenced to forfeit his office of provisor, to four years of banishment, and to suffer other penalties. King Philip III. punished the secular officials concerned in the arrest and other acts of violence against the provisor, but the inquisitors, who were the instigators of the outrage, got off scot free, and so, it appears, did the incestuous priest. This is but one of many instances where by the irony of events, the dignitaries of the church suffered in conflict with the institution which the church had set up to preserve the purity of its faith.

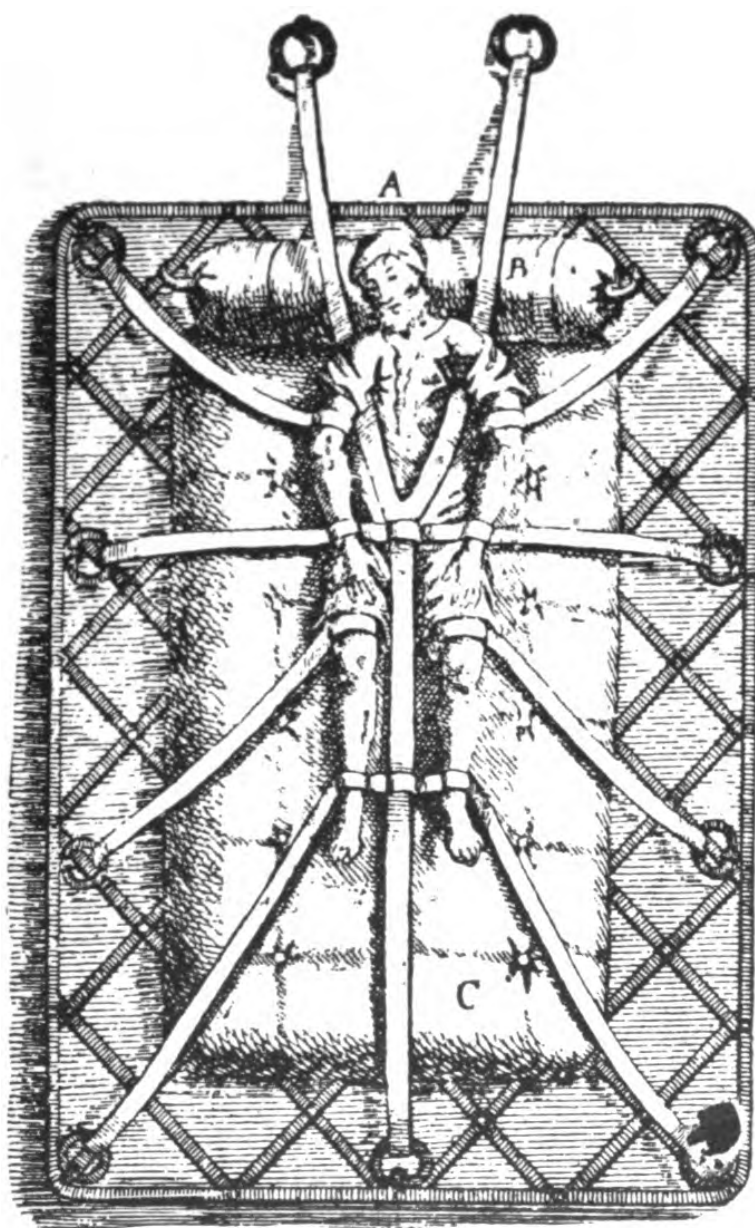
One result that cannot be regretted was produced by the extension of the tribunal's jurisdiction and its encroachment upon the field of the secular authorities: The suppression of heresy came to be neglected, unless the heretic was rich, and the Holy Office gave its attention to civil and criminal cases that yielded fees. In the later years of its existence it appears to have been concerned almost wholly with the prosecution of cases that did not involve matters of faith, and many of them were entered upon for the purpose of proving its authority and establishing its jurisdiction. In Logrono an attache of the Inquisition found a priest in his house with his wife, and vindicated his honor by killing the priest. The mayor of the town prosecuted the murderer and was excommunicated therefor by the tribunal, the excommunication carrying with it suspension of the mayor's



**The Plain Rack.**



**Torture  
Stocks.**



**Iron Bed.**

functions of a magistrate. Says Lea: "It seems extraordinary that any community would endure for centuries the indefinite stoppage of the administration of justice, constantly occurring through the reckless abuse of the power of excommunication, as when, in 1672, we find the queen-regent applying to the inquisitor-general to know how she is to answer the complaints of the town of Logrono at the prolonged suspension of the powers of the corregidor, who lay under excommunication, seeing that there is no conclusion of the competencia which has been so long pending." We cannot help observing that a people who would defend a religion, support a church, and maintain a tribunal to inflict every outrage on any person who questioned the infallibility of either, deserved all that came to them in consequence of their sanctioning such intolerance and barbarity.

The disreputable character of the inquisitors should have been enough to condemn the system they practiced. The Barcelona tribunal is a sample. Here, according to a report made by Doctor Alonso Perez to the Suprema in 1544, all of the officials except the judge of confiscations (who was able, perhaps, to purchase exemption from censure) were in the habit of accepting bribes; all made extra and illegal charges; all neglected their duties, most of them quarreled with one another, and all but two were defamed for improper relations with women. This was truly a fragrant aggregation of rascals to shed the odor of sanctity over a community, and to have discretion in matters of philosophy, morals, and religion. When we add to the virtues of the inquisitors the inability of

many of them to read and write, we get a still closer acquaintance with the class of men whom the church set like hounds upon the trail of upright and intelligent citizens. A sufficient explanation of the ruffianism of the familiars may appear if we reflect that none but a miscreant would seek or accept the post. An attache of the Inquisition showing himself to be anything else than a brute would be likely to follow his prisoners to the place of punishment at the next auto-da-fe. It is related that the keeper at the robber's roost set up by inquisitors in the castle of Triana at Seville, showed a disposition to take the part of the captives against their tormentors, and to extend to the inmates of the dungeons under his charge such favors as his position allowed. His superiors treated him as a friend of heretics, applied the torture, and threw him into a cell insensible from the barbarities he had endured. On the day of execution he was brought from prison to the public square with the other victims, and his sentence read, which was that he should be placed upon a mule, led through the city, receive two hundred stripes, and serve six years in the galleys. Being a man of great strength and activity, when the punishment began he broke his bonds, leaped to the ground, and wresting a sword from one of the guards, attacked an officer of the Inquisition, whom he dangerously wounded. But he was overpowered by numbers, tied tighter than before, and punished with the flogging according to the sentence. As a penalty for resistance four years were added to his term in the galleys, making it ten years instead of six.

To secure confessions and informations the Inquisition published what it called an Edict of Grace, putting under the curse all who should fail to confess their heresies, if they entertained any, or to denounce any neighbor, friend, or relative whom they suspected of heterodoxy. The Edict was published by proclamation, the familiars of the Inquisition parading the streets of town or city, on horseback, with drummers and trumpeters and the town crier, summoning all citizens to certain churches, where the Edict and anathema were to be read, and ordering all other churches closed on that day. Then at the church, with awe-inspiring solemnity, with accessories of draped crosses and flaming torches, the curse was pronounced:

"We excommunicate and anathematize, in the name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Ghost, in form of law, all apostate heretics from our holy Catholic faith, their fautors and concealers who do not reveal them, and we curse them that they may be accursed as members of the devil and separated from the unity of the holy mother church. And we order all the faithful to hold them as such and to curse them so that they may fall into the wrath and indignation of Almighty God. May all the curses and plagues of Egypt which befell King Pharaoh come upon them because they disobey the commandments of God. May they be cursed wherever they be, in the city or in the country, in eating and in drinking, in waking and in sleeping, in living and in dying. May the fruits of their lands be accursed, and the cattle thereof. May God send them hunger and pestilence to consume them. May

they be a scorn to their enemies and be abhorred of all men. May the devil be at their right hand. When they come to judgment may they be condemned. May they be driven from their homes. May their enemies take their possessions and prevail against them. May their wives and children rise up against them and be orphans and beggars with none to assist them in their need. May their wickedness ever be remembered in the presence of God. May they be accursed with all the curses of the Old Covenant and of the New. May the curse of Sodom and Gomorrah overtake them and its fire burn them. May the earth swallow them alive, like Dathan and Abiram for the sin of disobedience. May they be accursed as Lucifer, with all the devils of hell, where they may remain with Judas and the damned forever, if they do not acknowledge their sin, beg mercy, and amend their lives."

The people all said Amen, thus binding themselves to do the will of the Inquisition. The great bells tolled as for a death, while the bearers of the torches plunged them in the font of holy water, saying, "As these torches die in the water, so will their souls in hell."

Political and ecclesiastical power was thus reinforced by religious terrorism, the resources of which, as Lea says, "were exhausted to impress upon the popular conscience the supreme duty of denouncing kindred and friends for the slightest act or word which might be held to infer suspicion of heresy or of the varied classes of offenses over which the Inquisition had succeeded in extending its jurisdiction." The edict had the desired effect



wherever the people were intelligent enough to understand it and were fatuous enough to suppose that the Inquisition's promise of immunity to be gained thereby would be, or was intended to be, fulfilled. One denunciation led to another; the informer was in turn accused by the person informed upon, and the persecutor became the persecuted. Expression was stifled, and even thought became dangerous, since it might be involuntarily liberated in careless conversation, on occasions of insobriety, or in sleep.

The Edict of Grace was one of the worst frauds worked off upon the public by the Inquisition. It promised mercy to all who, being conscious of heresy, should come forward and make full confession, including not only all of their own errors that they could remember, but those of others. No confession was accepted as "full" unless it betrayed a neighbor, friend, or relative. It was a scheme to obtain information, wherefor it offered life and liberty, exemption from torture and confiscation. To-day we cannot understand how anybody ever came to put faith in the promises of the Inquisition, which were only a lure for the unsuspecting. Then we should possibly have known that to profess faith in them was the forlorn hope of the heretic, who lived in nightly dread of hearing outside his door the command, "Open to the Inquisition." Perhaps confession would save them, and they made it. The hope was as vain as the promise was false. The Inquisition wanted only to detect them without the trouble of making inquiries. It took their money, which it called "alms"; it heard and recorded their confessions

and their testimony against others—and then it burned them. A woman named Maria Gonzales, at Ciudad Real, in 1483, threw herself on the mercy of the tribunal, pleading that if she had practiced Jewish observances it was because her husband had beaten her and forced her to do his will. Having heard her confession, and admitted her to reconciliation, the Inquisition three months later put her under arrest, and she perished at the stake in the great auto of February 23, 1484. The parish priest of Talavera, being troubled with doubts about the validity of the sacraments he had been administering, made a full confession and professed repentance. The inquisitors pretended that his confession was of no value, because it had been extorted by fear—as though the stimulation of fear were not the purpose of the threats and anathemas of the Holy Office!—and the priest was burned in the auto-da-fe at Toledo, on August 17, 1406.

The Edict of Grace brought the natural affections into combat with self-preservation. In 1646, at Valladolid, Maria Lopez, who was under accusation, resisted for four months all the means the inquisitors knew how to use to elicit confessions. Finally, her powers of endurance were overcome and she confessed as to herself and others. Alone in her cell, she brooded over her act of treachery, at length attempting to strangle herself with a strip torn from an undergarment. Asked why she had tried suicide, she said that a woman who had falsely accused her husband, daughter, and mother was not fit to live. She then declared that her whole confession was false. Whether the

revocation saved her family we do not know. It did not save her, for she was sentenced to confiscation and perpetual prison, which was a modified sentence, for the savage rules of the Holy Office required that the revoker of a confession should be relaxed to the secular authority and burned.

Beatriz Nunez went before the Guadalupe tribunal in January, 1485, confessed all acts of heresy she could remember, and admitted all she could not remember. Notwithstanding this exhaustive acknowledgment of her "errors," she was shortly afterwards arrested on testimony relating to acts twenty years old, and on July 31 was burned alive. In the same year Andres Gonzales, a priest of San Martin de Talavera, who had been reconciled in the time of grace, was thrust into prison on Nov. 12. Despite a fuller confession, made later, with protestations of penitence and despairing pleas for mercy, he was degraded and burned in August of the following year. He suffered not for heresy, but for disobeying the order of the Inquisition that the first confession shall be full and include all acts both remembered and forgotten.

To omit information about the acts of others was deemed an aggravation of guilt. Manuel Diaz, who perished in the great Mexican auto-da-fe of December, 1596, was put to extreme torture because he would not testify against his fellow sufferers, although ten of them had betrayed him, nor admit any of the accusations made against himself, and died nobly, an impenitent heretic.

The inquisitors used the superstitious fears of dying prisoners to force confession from their lips, and undoubtedly to secure at the same time in-

formation about other heretics. A priest might not reveal what the penitent confided to him in his spiritual capacity, but, having heard all, the confessor must refuse absolution unless the confession was also made judicially, i. e., to the tribunal. It is likely that sick prisoners were told they were about to die in order that they might confess, for cases are recorded where the penitent "recovered" and was tried.

Instances of women confessing in childbirth show that children were born to women prisoners. Whether pregnancy occurred after their incarceration is not stated. Women and men were not herded together in cells; the sexes were separated, but in the secrecy which shrouded everything within the prison walls, the women were helpless and at the mercy of male attendants. Outrages and intercourse are known to have taken place. Inquisitor-General Ximenes prescribed the death penalty for the offense, but it was not taken seriously. Andres de Castro, an inquisitor of the Valencia tribunal, 1590, seduced a female prisoner, and kissed and solicited others. There were twenty-nine witnesses against him. He denied the charges, and might have been leniently dealt with if he had not broken jail and then allowed himself to be retaken. As it turned out, he received a lighter sentence than had been inflicted upon the employee of another tribunal who for a kindness done the prisoners went to the galleys for six years. De Castro got off with three years, and with some additional penalties, such as disability to hold office thereafter in the Inquisition.

It was safe to lodge information before the tri-

bunals, as the names of the witnesses were not published and no man knew who was his accuser unless he could identify him by the substance of the accusation. It is on record that at Talavera, about 1512, a New Christian learned the name of his accuser and killed him, but as a rule the accuser got off unscathed, even though his testimony were palpably false, for the inquisitor had no prejudice against perjury. There was in Madrid a devout Fleming named La Barre, against whom appeared as witnesses several workmen he had discharged for idleness and theft. He had been denounced by a mortal enemy. In his defense he offered twenty-five witnesses of good reputation, including members of the clergy and officials of high rank, and was enabled to make out a clear case of conspiracy. La Barre was convicted nevertheless and sentenced to reprimand and exile, accompanied with the threat of a hundred lashes if he talked about the case outside the tribunal. The perjured witnesses were never molested.

The worst results of the Inquisition were not its individual murders and robberies, although these alone would render it forever infamous. Its crowning injury to mankind was that by centuries of practice it bred a lying, persecuting, and spying spirit which became national and constitutional, to the continued abasement of a great people.

The judges were governed by no rule but their own malignity, cruelty, and greed. They could construe the laws of evidence as they saw fit. On the evidence of a single witness the tribunal of

Barcelona prosecuted Guillen Contada, tortured him twice, and without convicting him sent him to the stake. In the same circumstances they burned Juan del Panen.

Personal cleanliness in inquisitorial times being confined to heretics, to wash oneself was an act from which apostasy could be inferred and the Inquisition was ready to proceed on an inference. The condition of the orthodox in this regard we may judge from the evidence brought out in the prosecution of the Benedictine convent at Madrid, which showed that the confessor of nuns, one Geronimo de Villeneuve, sat in the lap of his mistress, the abbess Dona Teresa, while she cleaned the insects out of his hair. Filthiness of person was reflected in the condition in which the inquisitors kept their prisons.

In Valladolid, 1622-1624, a whole family, that of Dr. Jorje Enriquez, deceased, was prosecuted for putting a clean shirt on the corpse. The widow, children, and servants were thrown into the secret prison, and the eldest son, twenty years old, died from the effects of torture. The other prisoners were acquitted after they had all lain in jail for two years, while the estate was sequestrated.

The Inquisition had become the synonym of cruelty. It won the same relation to rapacity. It reached for everything in sight, and all phases of its system of robbery it disguised as zeal for the faith. Confiscation was the first step after arrest and preceded the trial and sentence. The Suprema was asked in 1533 to forego confiscation in certain cases. It replied that confiscation was the penalty most dreaded and therefore that which

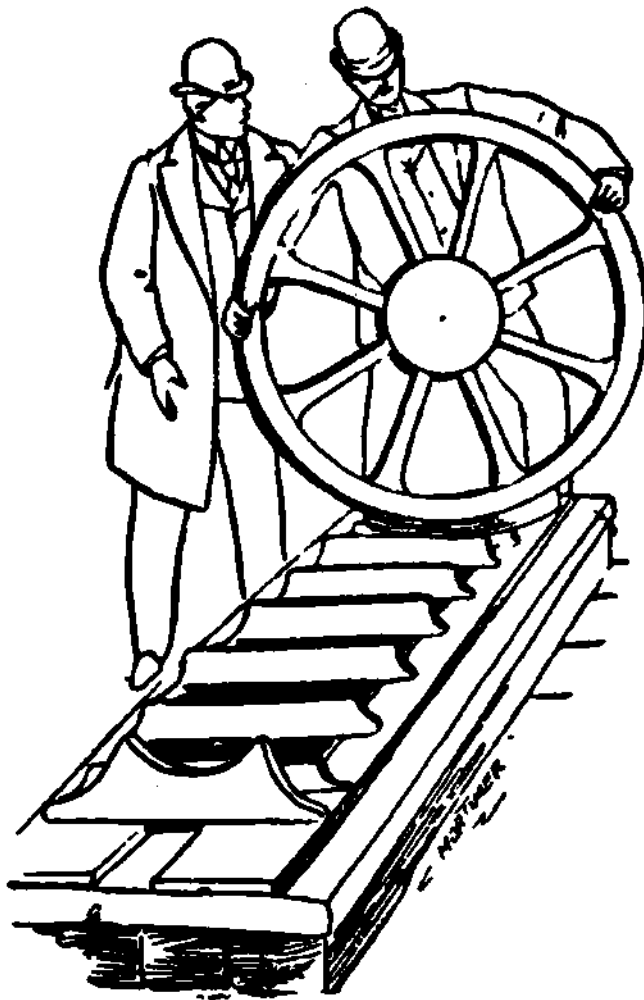
deterred from heresy; that if repentant heretics were not punished with confiscation, they would not be punished at all, because the church "received to reconciliation all who repented." This, the reader need not be told, was in plain language a lie, for the prescribed punishment of the penitent heretic was perpetual imprisonment. He lost all of his property, leaving his family destitute, and they could not even collect what was due him. His debtors were either released or compelled to settle with the Inquisition. And in addition to that, if they had bought property from him, and paid for it, since the date of his alleged manifestation of heresy, they must surrender that to the Inquisition also. A ship with a heretic on board could be seized; it was forfeited to the Inquisition, and its cargo fell into the same prehensile hands.

Slaves, if Christians, were free when their master's property was confiscated. The fate of Moorish persons held to service was different. There was a demand for attractive slave-girls among the men of God, and the king, who was a married man, distributed them among his friends. Dr. Lea thinks it might be indiscreet to inquire why reverend members of the Suprema seem to be especially desirous of such acquisitions. He goes on to relate that in April, 1510, Ferdinand writes to the receiver of Cartegena that he is told that, in the confiscated property of Ramado Martin de Santa Cruz, there is a Moorish female slave named Alia; if this is so she is to be delivered to Doctor Perez Gonzalo Manso, of the Suprema, to be his property as a gift. March 18, 1514, the

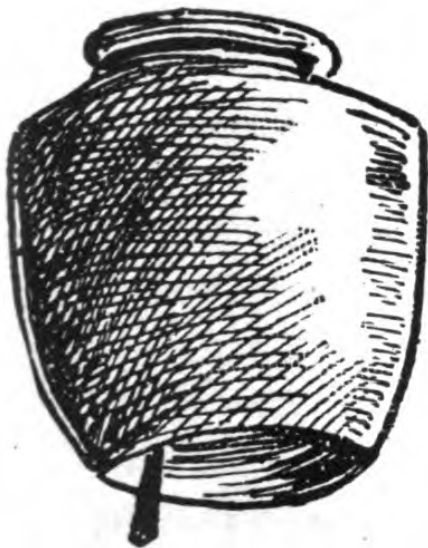


Licenciado Ferrando de Mazuecos, of the Suprema, petitions for a Moorish slave-girl confiscated among the property of Juan de Tena of Ciudad Real, and Ferdinand orders her to be given to him, to do what he pleases with her. There was some contest over Fatima, a white Moorish slave-girl confiscated in the estate of Alonso Sanchez del Castillo. The Marquis of Villena asked for her, and Ferdinand granted his request, June 15, 1514, but when the order was sent to Toledo, the deputy receiver refused to obey it, alleging that it was obtained by false representations, as the Suprema had already given her to the reverend fiscal, Martin Ximenes. Another royal letter was forthcoming, reiterating the grant to Villena, and ordering the receiver to compensate Fiscal Ximenes for her value. It impresses Dr. Lea as significant that in his examination of the Spanish archives he has found nothing to indicate any such eagerness on the part of the clergy and nobility to obtain male slaves.

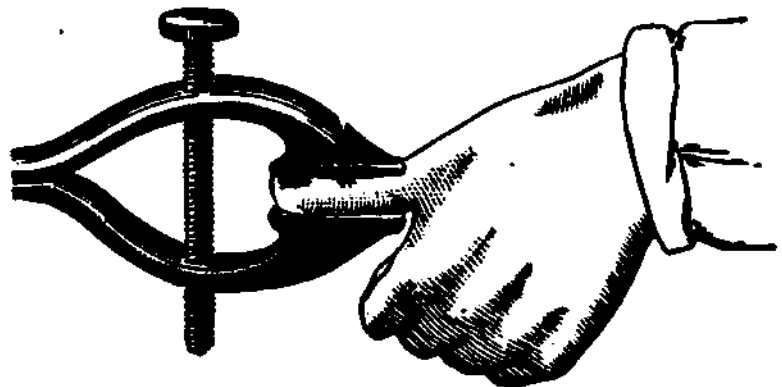
The rigid enforcement of confiscation is shown in the record of the Majorca tribunal, which in the six years between 1721 and 1727, held sixty-six autos-da-fe and rendered 776 sentences of confiscation. As the victims belonged to the commercial class, only the receiver has ever known how much the plunder amounted to. Sometimes the proceeds of a confiscated estate were paid to the king before the owner had been tried. This was enough to insure conviction, for unless the accused was found guilty, the plunder would have to be given up, and that was against the principles and practice of both Ferdinand and the inquisitors.



**Breaking With Wheel.**



**The Execution Bell.**



**Thumbscrew.**

There was a time when Spain possessed the most thrifty agriculturists and the most enterprising merchants in the world. They happened not to have been born Christians, and the church and the Inquisition drove them out, burned, exiled, imprisoned, and robbed them. Their wealth was dissipated in wars for the advancement of the faith, and for the support of the pious and parasitic classes. Spain was a luscious and juicy orange, and the church and the throne between them squeezed it dry.

All business was perforce carried on under the difficulties and disadvantages that make smuggling hazardous. There was a risk in buying land, for no title could stand against the claim of the Inquisition if the seller were delated to it as heterodox. The merchant must send his goods abroad in the knowledge that the discovery of a heretic on board the vessel taking them as part of its cargo would insure their confiscation.

The confiscations belonged to the king after the salaries and perquisites of the inquisitors had been deducted. The penances belonged to the Inquisition, and as the officers of that tribunal could at discretion impose either confiscation or penance, it may be guessed that there were occasions when they favored the latter. We find cases recorded where if the estate of the accused were to be confiscated, influence was likely to be exerted on the king in favor of its restoration. In such a conjuncture the tribunal let him keep the title to his estate but imposed a penance equal to its value. Penances at length largely superseded confiscations, and under the instructions of the Suprema

they were imposed, not so much in proportion to the guilt of the accused as according to the amount of his wealth. In 1575 a communication from the Suprema to the perambulating or visiting inquisitors told them they must always bear in mind that the Inquisition always needed the money, and never fail to penance a culprit to the limit of his ability to pay. The admonition was frequently repeated, though it seems not to have been needed, for the traveling agents of the Holy Office used and abused their powers to the verge of larceny from the person. An inquisitor named Mexia, sent by the Barcelona tribunal, found a man, who thirty years before, when someone told him to trust in God, had replied, "Trust in God! By trusting in God last year I lost fifty ducats." The agent amerced this man in a penance of one hundred ducats, while a neighbor who criticised the sentence adversely was fined twenty ducats and costs.

In an excess of zeal, the inquisitors from Barcelona went beyond their jurisdiction and invaded the prerogatives of the clergy, when they fined the Abbot of Ripoll four hundred ducats for keeping a nun as a mistress.

To show that the financial ability of the culprit and not the gravity of his offense came to be the measure of his penance may be mentioned the case of a man who appeared at a Seville auto in 1515 and who had been penanced 200 ducats or less, "according to his wealth," for asserting fornication to be no sin, while one who had been convicted of shielding heretics, a most serious offense, got off with a penance of 50 ducats, because that was all he could pay. In 1669 Don

Alonso Sanchez, a rich penitent, paid 13,000 ducats on conviction of the same crime (shielding heretics). But in the unscrupulous use of their powers, the culprit's ability to pay was not always the limit of a pecuniary penance rendered by the inquisitors, provided he had friends who could ransom him. They found it profitable to add to the sentence the alternative of stripes or the dungeon, exile or the galleys, that his family might be induced to save themselves from disgrace by raising the amount of the penance. As this cruelty brought some public condemnation of the Holy Office, the inquisitors at last sent poor men to the galleys and reserved pecuniary penances for the rich.

The Inquisition was the Vice Society of Spain while it lasted. In 1816 it prosecuted Pasqual Franchini, of Madrid, for having two indecent pictures in his possession, and imposed a fine of 100 ducats (\$140), which the royal treasury appropriated. As times got harder through the destruction of business and commerce by the rapacious hordes of the Inquisition, the crown was obliged to get its revenues from whatever source they could be absorbed, and it did not hesitate about stooping to pick up a penance of a few ducats.

A picture of the conditions in Spain for the three centuries during which the Inquisition was supreme would show us that the lifeblood of the people was drawn from their veins by three parasites—the Inquisition, the crown, and the church, with its head at Rome and its feeders everywhere. Each of these parasites asserted supremacy; each must be satisfied, gorged, and surfeited. And the

bloodsuckers, being jealous of one another, were constantly competing for the plunder. In their zeal for the exaltation of the faith, they were united; as to which ought to have the profits of the business they were divided. The Spanish kings, the most Catholic sovereigns in the world, were pledged to the support of the religion. The pope was of course the head of the church, and the Inquisition and the kings were his right and left hands. He could not dispense with either, and they could not hold without his authority. It was vital to the existence of each and all that the people should continue to be blinded by the Christian religion, inflamed by bigotry, and controlled through their superstitions, for pope, inquisitor, or king would have been powerless for evil, and their crimes impossible, in a state where the masses had been enlightened by Rationalism.

The three parasites were allies in belief and intolerance, but each had a separate lust for pillage, and each claimed authority to punish, to penance, and to sell immunity for coin. One recognized the right of the others only when exercised in his behalf. Many cases are of record to show how the system worked. The Inquisition threatened the heretic with prosecution. He purchased a dispensation from the pope. The Inquisition ignored the papal letter, and proceeded against the heretic, penancing him and investing him with the sanbenito. The pope put forth no effort to make his dispensation good; he had received his money. The victim appeals to him again, and for a consideration the pope issues another letter permitting him to discard the penitential garment. This is disregarded by the

Inquisition, which, however, is willing to allow the penitent to abandon the sanbenito on payment of a thousand florins. The offer is accepted, and the florins pass to the hands of the inquisitors. Pope and inquisitor having thus been bought, the king is now to be satisfied, and we read: "The situation was complicated by the pretensions of the sovereigns to intervene and claim their share, and this they sought to establish by procuring from [Pope] Alexander VI., a brief of February 18, 1495, which recites that the inquisitors collect various sums from those who had obtained papal rehabilitations and retained them; all such moneys thereafter received for commutations and rehabilitations were to be placed at the disposal of the sovereigns, under pain of ipso facto excommunication. It is obvious from this that the papal dispensations were not admitted without the exaction of further payments; that the pope was content with this so long as the taxes of the Penitentiary were paid in Rome, and that Ferdinand was concerned only with the destination of the proceeds, and was quite willing to acknowledge the papal authority when it was exercised for his benefit."

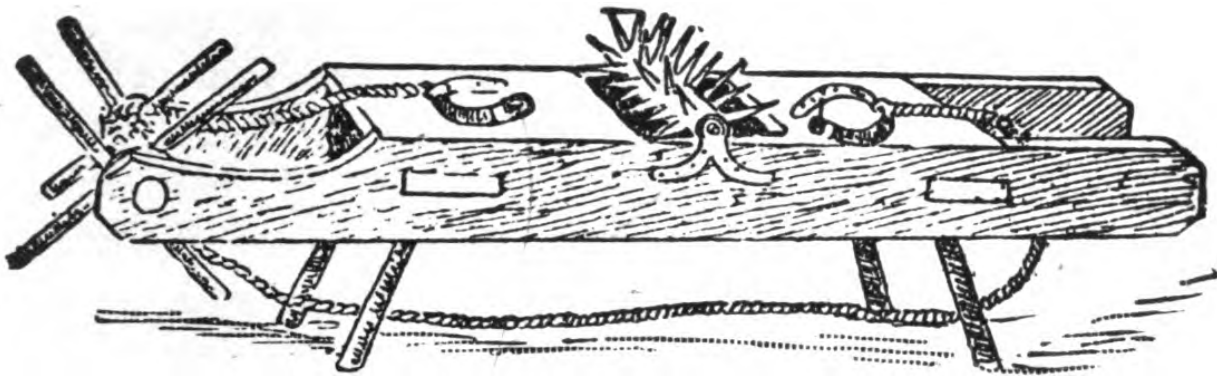
And now observe how the third bloodsucker, the king, took his share: "He lost no time in availing himself of the papal grant on a large scale, and, before the year was out, we find him selling relief in mass to all those disabled by the tribunal of Toledo, a transaction which brought in large returns; for, in 1497, Alonso de Morales, the royal treasurer, acknowledges the receipt of 6,499,028 maravedis (about \$24,371) from Toledo com-



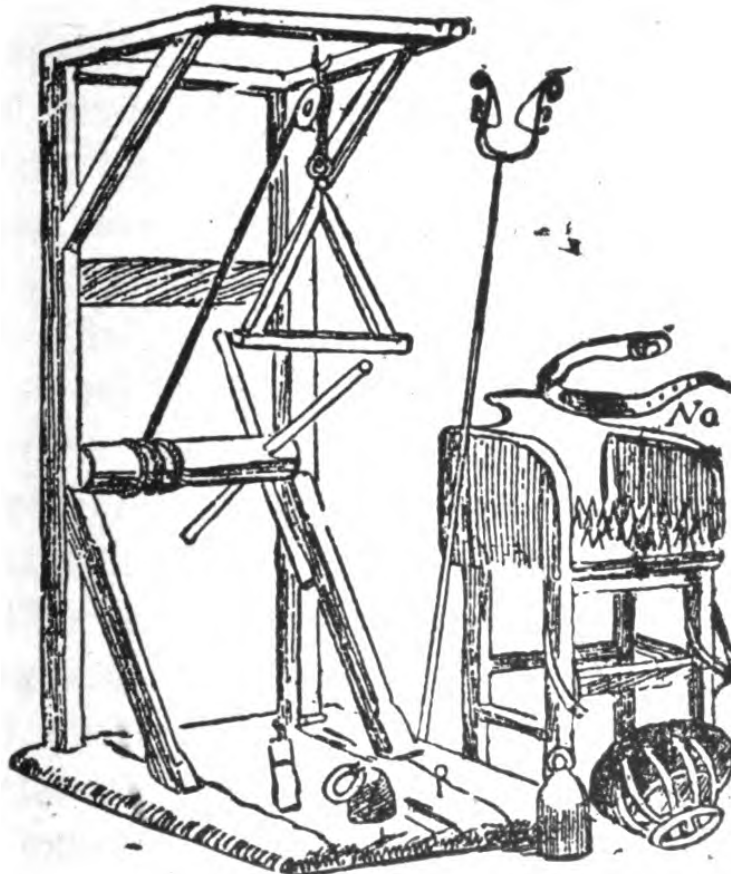
mutations and rehabilitations, and this was doubtless only one of numerous similar compositions." The pope, the inquisitor, and the king deserve to be worshiped as the holy trinity of all robbers, ever ready to dispense mercies for a reasonable consideration.

The wearer of the sanbenito had good reasons for his willingness to purchase leave to put it off, for it was worse than the black list or boycott. One invested with it could neither obtain work nor live with his family. The degradation and the exclusion from employment made him an outcast, and his eagerness to be rid of the garb led him always when possible to pay eagerly the price put upon his freedom by the Inquisition which had imposed the penance with this end in view.

The salaries of the inquisitors were probably determined by the king, the pay for catching and pillaging heretics being good. Notwithstanding this, they had ways of enlarging their income. Sometimes it was by peculation, again by unlawful traffic. The members of the Supreme Council understood the art of salary grabbing. Sometimes after a successful raid on the property of heretics, they would vote themselves each a share of the plunder. It was so in 1659, when, the persecutions in Majorca having turned out well pecuniarily, they gave themselves presents and even remembered their subordinates when putting the steal through. It was the policy of the Inquisition, like the church, to plead poverty, but the Suprema nevertheless distributed gratuities to its favorites, and it even granted a pension to one young woman so that she might marry—perchance her early



**Rack called "Spiked Hare."**



**Crown to be worn redhot.  
Stretching Gallows.  
Chair of Torture.  
Thief Catcher.**

marriage was of importance to one or more of the holy men.

We have seen that the salaries of the inquisitors were paid in coin minted in the torture chamber; that the hands which gave and those which received were bloody. That the Inquisition might be maintained and its employees kept in funds, thousands of Spanish homes were desolated, families ruined, and children left to starve. And with money procured at this cost the Supreme Council (*la Suprema*) provided generously for the amusement and gratification of its members. It spent at discretion moneys received in penances and confiscations, and presented its bill against the drafts made by the king on the receiver for all the latter had taken in. In the archives examined by Lea are found the details of the cost of the "autos sacramentales" performed before the Council on the Corpus Christi feast of 1659, amounting to 3,108 reales in silver and vellon, there being eight reales to the dollar. They paid to the companies of players—actors and musicians—516 reales; to the "authors of the autos," 500; to the dancers 48, and other sums for coaches and conveniences. The staging and awning cost 2,040 reales in vellon (a debased currency). When the members of the Council relaxed themselves by attending a bullfight, the expense was much greater. Lea gives the items of expenditure incurred by the Holy Office for the "fiestas de toros" (bullfights) of June 5, 1690. They amount to 6,467 reales (about \$808), two-thirds of which went for balconies and window seats occupied by the Council and its servants. The rest was spent for drinks and other

luxuries, and for services and necessary utensils. The same year the Suprema paid 3,300 reales for balconies from which its members and their attendants might "see the new Queen, Maria Anna of Neuberg, when she entered Madrid." And to this end were citizens of Spain brought to the torture and the stake and their families to beggary, and thus was the faith exalted.

That the tribunals of the Inquisition, tributary to the Suprema, were the source of vast income in blood-stained money is shown by the receipts from those established in the Spanish colonies. In the middle of the seventeenth century Mexico and Lima furnished regularly, or exceeded, \$14,600 a year. From Cartagena de las Indias in 1653-4 came more than 100,000 dollars (pesos). About 1675 there was a remittance of 40,000 dollars, of which Lima sent 10,000 and Mexico 30,000. With such sources of income from abroad, and with more thousands gathered at home, the Suprema could well afford to pay its members salaries ranging from \$6,000 to \$10,000, the latter sum being the salary of the inquisitor-general, and to provide them with amusement and gratifications. All that prevented the Inquisition from becoming enormously wealthy was the fact that it must help pay the expenses of the nation which it was assisting to bankrupt. The wars in which Spain became involved, with France, with England and with Portugal, caused the impecunious monarchy to make large drafts upon the receiver of the Holy Office.

The principle that a man's life and liberty shall not be put in jeopardy twice for the same offense

was not respected by the Inquisition. There was a heresy trial at Ciudad Real in 1551 when the Rev. Diego de Carcano was brought before an episcopal court for some irreverent remarks conceived in jest and uttered thoughtlessly. His superiors the bishops inflicted a light penance and a four-dollar fine which he paid. After two years an inquisitor heard of the affair; the trial was reopened before the tribunal and the priest prosecuted without mercy.

To a poor man arrest was equivalent to ruin. Whether acquitted or convicted all costs were charged against him—the traveling expenses of the familiars and guards, their entertainment on the road, and whatever fees were to be paid. The very shirt from his back and the rosary in his hands must be sold to meet these charges, so that if he escaped the dungeon of the Inquisition he came home to find himself a pauper. And the money forced from him might be spent to hire dancing girls to entertain the reverend inquisitors.

Equally doleful was the lot of the family of the prisoner whose property had been confiscated. Even though confiscation had not been decreed, the property was seized and the family deprived of sustenance. At Llerena, in 1506, two little daughters of a rich prisoner died of hunger, and their elder sisters went out on the streets at night. The Inquisition had fulfilled its own curse; their children were "orphans and beggars with none to assist them in need." In a fit of generosity the Inquisition once determined to provide for an unusually destitute case, that of a woman with ten persons dependent upon her for support, and al-

lowed her twenty-five maravedis a day. A maravedi is three-eighths of a cent. The close-fisted Inquisition defaulted and paid her nothing for three months.

It was characteristic of the pope and the inquisitors, and to the advantage of both, to compound offenses and make merchandise of immunities. The pope sold the heretics and criminals immunity from punishment as well as pardon for sin. The New Christians purchased them, since they were for sale to any one who could pay, and held them as protection in advance and as a means of setting aside convictions found by the tribunals of the Inquisition. Neither the Inquisition nor the Spanish kings admitted their efficacy. Indeed, there was an understanding between Rome and Madrid that they were valueless, though the purchaser did not become aware of that fact until he found himself defenseless before the tribunal. The pope's letters became a source of danger instead of protection, for to possess one was *prima facie* evidence of guilt. The pope declined to abandon so lucrative a traffic, and continued to issue them as long as he could find purchasers despite the fact that he would take no steps to see that they were honored by the inquisitors. The letters appear to have been good before the tribunal that was maintained in Rome under the shadow of the Vatican. We are told, moreover, that many Conversos (converted Jews), abandoning Spain, found a refuge in Rome, whither they were welcomed by Pope Alexander on account of the heavy assessments they paid for protection and toleration.

The sincere and consistent Catholic, who yet found himself before the tribunal, charged with heresy, was between two fires—that of the Inquisition on the one hand, and on the other that of the conscience, which he called hell. If he denied his guilt in the face of what the judges accepted as competent testimony, he would surely go to the stake. "This," observes Lea, "was the inevitable logic of the situation, for otherwise the guilty could escape at the mere cost of asserting innocence, and the effort to purify the land might as well be abandoned. There were, indeed comparatively few who did not at first assert the orthodoxy, nor many who did not ultimately yield to the effective methods to obtain confession. Those who resisted to the end, and went to the stake asserting their Catholicism, were unquestionably good Christians who preferred the most frightful of deaths rather than to admit they had been heretics and confess and abjure heresies that they had never entertained; for if they were really guilty there was nothing more to be gained by denial than by the defiant avowal of their beliefs. Cases of this kind were by no means rare. There were five in Toledo between 1575 and 1606; there were three in a single auto in Granada in 1593; there was one in the great Madrid auto of 1680, and two of those in Majorca in 1691."

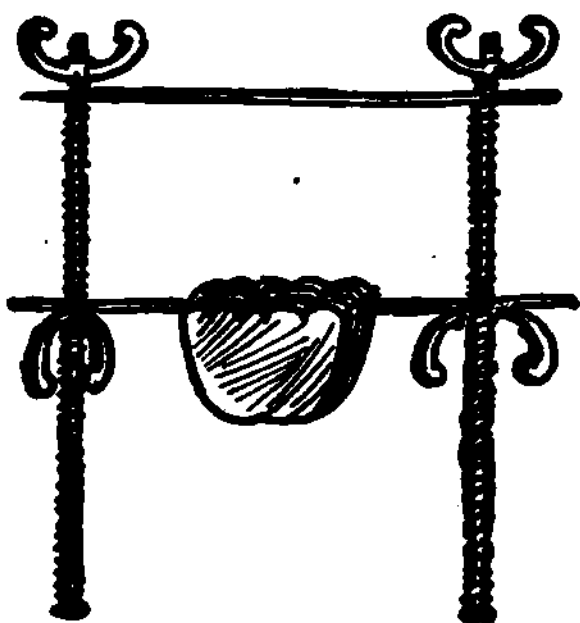
The question of course arose whether it was permissible for a good Catholic to accuse himself in order to escape torture and the stake, and the theologians determined that it was not. The consolation is offered, however, that constancy is sure to win the victim a place among the martyrs, who



are all saints, though none of those added to the roll by the Inquisition has ever been canonized.

Between a finite inquisitor on earth and an infinite one in heaven, the true believer naturally chose the tribunal whose tortures were briefest; but it was a cruel faith that forced him to make the choice. To endure sufferings for one's family or friends, or for humanity or for the truth, is ennobling. Dying for a mere superstitious belief is another matter; and a religion which imposes it as a duty, or which makes eternal in another world the penalty for denying it in this where life is at stake, is as cruel as the Inquisition itself. Describing torture by application of the thumbscrew, Ingersoll says: "When this was done most men said, 'I will recant.' Probably I should have done the same. Probably I would have said: 'Stop; I will admit anything you wish; I admit that there is one god or a million but stop.'"

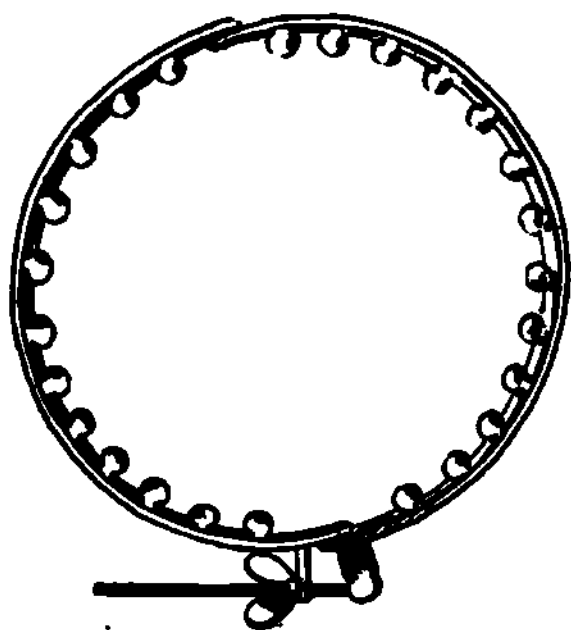
But the tortures of the thumbscrew and rack were not applied by the Inquisition to induce an acknowledgment of belief in Christian dogmas. Such an acknowledgment or affirmation could not save the culprit, but rather determined his fate, if adhered to, as an obstinate and impenitent heretic, whose doom was death by burning. The torture was used to force a confession of heresy, in order that the Inquisition might have his money by penancing him, or his property by confiscation. The firmest believer was surest of coming to the stake. The heretic had a chance for his life if he confessed and abjured. The real unbeliever, or one who, like Vanini, should be charged with Atheism, would be prosecuted by the state, which was



**Leg Crusher.**



**Ready to be Quartered.**



**Knobby Crown for Head.**



**Iron Boot.**

merely the secular arm of the church; and if he resisted the torture in a civil test, without admitting his guilt, he was deemed innocent. The Inquisition drew no such conclusion from the firmness of a prisoner, which it attributed to contumacy or enchantments.

Many of the inquisitors were themselves exceedingly superstitious. Grand Inquisitor Eymerich of Aragon believed that certain heretics were enabled to sustain and resist torture by means of "enchantments." Inquisitor-General Torquemada reposed confidence in the power of charms to protect him from assassination, and carried about with him as a talisman the horn of a strange animal, which he believed to be a "unicorn," and habitually drank from it in the faith that it had mysterious efficacy to prevent the action of poison.

A craze started by the Inquisition took the form of a fanatical demand for purity of blood. It was called the "limpieza." People began to investigate the genealogy of their neighbors in the search for a strain of Jewish or Moorish blood. Those who did not stand the test were proscribed. Each tribunal conducted a general inquest and made a register of all infected families. The limit was set at great-great-grandparents; if neither these nor any of their descendants had been heretics or condemned by the Inquisition, limpieza was generally admitted to be proved. The inquiry of course led to the producing of many fictitious genealogies, which were in fact necessary, for, as a writer of 1629 put it, only those can produce proofs who are poor peasants, whose grandparents have been forgotten, and the great nobles, against whom no

one dares to testify. The *limpieza* craze caused many trials of the dead before the Inquisition, which were only less profitable than the prosecution of heretics at first hand. Every new generation afforded fresh numbers to be penanced if they sought any of the privileges enjoyed by Old Christians. A man attainted could not hold office, nor marry into an Old Christian family, nor enter his daughter into a convent, nor even leave the country. Inevitably the authority of the Inquisition was augmented by the *limpieza* fanaticism, and just as inevitably it turned the terror which it inspired to its own pecuniary advantage. To be arrested, though causelessly, was sufficient to incur the taint and the disability. Men would pay for immunity, and the Inquisition took their money, although that did not insure the beneficiary from future accusation. But as the witchcraft craze came to an end when the magistrates were accused of practicing so the *limpieza* met with discouragement when persons of high station were cited. After the Inquisition it was invoked to keep New Christians out of the corps of cadets, but was abolished by the Cortes in 1860. The popular prejudice has abated. "The latest accessible view of the situation, in 1877, by Padre Taronji, a priest of the proscribed class, represents the clergy as still obstinately impervious to all ideas of extending fellowship to their fellow believers, and as busily fanning the dying embers of class hatred, based on events two centuries old" (Lea). Who should preach the proscription of an alien race if not the priests of that deity in whose revealed word we

read that "God hath made of one blood all the nations of the earth!"

Of the wrongs inflicted by the Holy Office upon the Spanish people through their foolish insistence on purity of blood, Dr. Charles Henry Lea, who is here closely followed, says in his "History of the Inquisition in Spain": "The sentence rendered may frequently appear to us trivial, but the penance was the smallest part of the penalty. Villanueva, as we have seen, was condemned merely to abjure for light suspicion of heresy and to a few years' absence from Madrid, but that cast disgrace upon his whole kindred; he and his descendants fell into the class of pariahs, and could form no alliance outside of that caste; through generations they were branded with ineffaceable stigma. To Spanish 'pundonor' the scaffold were merciful in comparison. The mercy of the Inquisition was more to be dreaded than the severity of other tribunals, and men might well beware of incurring the enmity of those who could at discretion consign them and their posterity to infamy."

The Spanish Inquisition had a hand in "purifying" England of heresy. In 1554 when Prince Philip of Spain sailed for England to marry Bloody Mary, a woman after his own heart, he took with him, as inquisitor, Archbishop Carranza. Mary devoted herself to the restoration of the Roman Catholic faith, and with the assistance of Carranza turned England into a land of horrors. At her death he returned to Spain, and there boasted that during his three or four years' stay in Albion he

had "burned, 'reconciled,' or driven from the land thirty thousand heretics, and had brought two millions souls back to the church."

It was in February of the year of Carranza's advent in England that the event occurred which is illustrated in the New England Primer under the head of "The Burning of Mr. John Rogers," to wit:

"Mr. John Rogers, minifter of the gofpel in London, was the firft martyr in Queen Mary's reign; and was burnt at Smithfield, February the fourteenth, 1554. His wife, with nine fmall children, and one at her breaft, followed him to the ftake: with which forrowful fight he was not in the leaft daunted, but, with wonderful patience, died courageously for the gofpel of Jefus Christ." [The date, "February fourteenth," is Old Style; modern histories give February 4 as the date of Roger's martyrdom.]

The victims of the Inquisition, as it was transferred to England by Philip and Carranza and conducted to the satisfaction of the Holy Office, were members and ministers of the church of England established by the paternal ancestors of the queen. They were proud of their heresy. They were self-convicted, needed no trial, and had only to be apprehended and sentenced. They did not, however, escape torture inflicted in the attempt to convert them to the Roman Catholic faith. All of them suffered imprisonment of greater or less duration. The Rev. Laurence Saunders perished at the stake on February 5. Bishop Hopper stayed in jail about seventeen months before he was burned, having been arrested in September,

1553, and brought to the stake (at Gloucester) in February, 1555.

Torture may have been introduced in heresy proceedings by this Spaniard, the Archbishop Carranza, for the Rev. Robert Samuel and others burnt in 1555 were chained to a post "in such a manner that, standing only on tiptoe, they were, in that manner, forced to sustain the whole weight of the body." The holocaust following Carranza's appearance in England claimed three hundred victims burned. An ecclesiastical revolution followed the death of Queen Mary, in 1559, and the accession of her half-sister Elizabeth, a Protestant whom for some unknown reason the bigotry of Mary had spared. The persecutions then suffered by the Catholics are detailed in another place.

An unsympathetic interest is felt in the after-fate of Carranza. Following his return to Spain he was accused of sympathy with the Lutherans and immured in the secret prison of the Valladolid Inquisition, where for years he remained dead to the world. Meanwhile the revenues of his office, that of archbishop of Toledo, which were worth hundreds of thousands of ducats, and every ducat worth \$1.40, passed to the credit of the Inquisition and the treasury of King Philip. He was sent to Rome and there imprisoned. Pontiff and king played battledore and shuttlecock with his case until 1576, when the pope penanced him, and wrote that he would appoint an administrator of the church of Toledo with power to dispose of all its revenues since the date of Carranza's arrest. As that was seventeen years ago, and the revenues had amounted to millions of ducats, Philip saw that Car-



ranza's return to Spain would be ruinous to him. But Carranza died on the day of his liberation. May 2, 1576, poisoned, it is supposed, by Philip's agents in Rome. He entered his prison at the age of 56, interrupted in his boasts of the number of heretics he had brought to the stake in England. He left at 73, a victim of the tribunal he had represented abroad. If he believed in retributive justice he may well have regarded his own punishment as an instance of it. But it was religion he had suffered by, whose penalties are never to be confounded with the doing of justice.

"The Holy Office has done its work in Spain. A rapacious government, an enslaved people, a hollow religion, a corrupt church, a century of blood, three centuries of shame, all these things followed in its wake. And the country of Viriatus and Seneca, of Trajan and Marcus Aurelius, where Ruy Diaz fought, and Alfonso studied, and where two warrior kings in two successive centuries defied Rome temporal and Rome spiritual, and all the crusaders of Europe—Spain, hardly conquered by Scipio or by Caesar, was enslaved by the dead hand of Dominic."—Burke's History of Spain.

The Spanish Inquisition had its seat in the East Indies at Goa, under the dominion of Portugal. It was carried into America by Spain soon after the discovery of the country, and its principal seats were Mexico, Carthagen, and Lima. It was everywhere a rapacious, cruel, consuming monster. The ecclesiastico-political Inquisition was introduced into Germany, but it never got a permanent foothold there, although it wrought much mischief sporadi-

cally. Gregory IX. appointed (1231) Conrad of Marburg, a Dominican, grand inquisitor of Germany. Conrad aroused the pope to a crusade against the Stedingers, while the Inquisition proceeded against them judicially. The Germans would not endure his cruelties, and he was assassinated by some of the nobles. The Stedingers were Frisians of Oldenburg "who revolted against the oppression of nobles and priests, refused socage and tithes, and screened Albigenian heretics. The first crusade failed; the second succeeded, and plundered, murdered, and burned on every hand. Thousands of the unhappy peasants were slain, neither women nor children were spared, and all prisoners were sent to the stake as heretics" (Kurtz, "Church Hist.," ii., 138; Funk & Wagnalls' ed.). Weakened by its own excesses, the Inquisition in Germany did comparatively little for a century, but in 1367 Walter Karling and another Dominican inquisitor, both sent by Urban V., severely persecuted the Beghards and Beguines, semi-monastic associations of men and women respectively, which had originated in the Netherlands, and fallen into heresies through the teachings of the Albigenses, Waldenses, and other fugitives from the Inquisition, whom they had sheltered. They were industrial and benevolent societies. The work of these inquisitors "was legalized and efficiently sustained by three edicts granted by Charles IV. (1369). Gregory XI. enlarged the number of inquisitors for Germany to five (1372), and Boniface IX. sent six for North Germany (about 1399) (Johnson's Cyclopedic, Art. Inquisition). Near the end of the Fifteenth century Pope Innocent VIII. gave new life to the Inquisi-

tion in Germany through his bull against witchcraft. This orgy of cruelty and insanity will be found treated under the head of "The Witchcraft Delusion." The Reformation gave the death-blow to the Inquisition in Germany, but the Jesuits tried to restore it in Austria and Bohemia. In 1599 it was formally established in Bavaria, but lacked vitality.

The Inquisition had long life in Italy, but political complications prevented its development into the terrible machine that it became in Spain. Gregory IX. introduced it in 1235. Paul IV. (1555-59) declared just before his death that he had found it the only effective weapon in his fight with Protestantism; by its use alone had he been able to rescue the Catholic religion and the Apostolic See from destruction (*ibid.*). The Congregation of the Holy Office stood in conjunction with the Inquisition. The chief inquisitor was always a Dominican. Napoleon abolished it in 1808; Pius VII. restored it in 1814. It had life, under varying forms, in Poland, Venice, Tuscany, Sicily and other parts of Europe. As late as 1852 Francesco and Rosa Madiari were sentenced in Tuscany to four years' imprisonment for having become Protestants.

The Inquisition in France never became the overshadowing horror that we know it to have been, in Spain and Portugal. The state was so subservient to the church, and so readily undertook the extirpation of heresy and unbelief, that an inquisition seems almost a superfluity. All offenses against "religion," for so Catholicism was called, were punished by torture of which two



**The Last Farewell of Calas.**

kinds were distinguished—ordinary and extraordinary. Ordinary torture consisted of binding a victim by the wrists to an iron ring set in a stone wall, and by his feet to another iron ring set in the stone floor. The torturers then shortened the ropes until all of the arm and leg joints were dislocated. If this did not reconcile the victim, the torture extraordinary was applied. "Into the mouth of the victim was placed a horn holding three pints of water. In this way thirty pints of water were forced into the body of the sufferer. The pain was beyond description."

Having survived these torments, the contumacious heretic was carried to the scaffold and his body bound to a wooden cross. Then the executioner, with a bar of iron, broke each leg and each arm in two places, and he was left to die. If slow in expiring, the executioner strangled him, and his body was bound to a stake and burned. John Calas of Toulouse suffered such a fate under a charge of being implicated in the alleged strangulation of his son, who had committed suicide because he could not practice his profession of law without becoming a Catholic. The real offense of Calas was being a Protestant.

Another case is related by Ingersoll: A man named Espinasse was a Protestant of good estate. In 1740 he received into his house a Protestant clergyman, to whom he gave supper and lodging. In a country where priests repeated the parable of the Good Samaritan, this was a crime. Espinasse was tried, convicted, and sentenced to the galleys for life. He served twenty-three years of his sentence, and would have died in exile but for the

efforts of Voltaire, through which he was released and restored to his family.

The story of the Chevalier de la Barre shows how religion had driven mercy from France in 1765. At the town of Abbeville an old wooden cross on a bridge had been mutilated, or whittled with a knife. Two young men were suspected, La Barre and D'Etallonde. D'Etallonde fled. La Barre stood his trial. Both he and his absent friend were convicted without the slightest evidence. Whether guilty or not, their punishment would have its effect in augmenting the popular fear of the church. So both were sentenced to endure the torture ordinary and extraordinary; to have their tongues torn out by the roots with pincers of iron; to have their right hands cut off and nailed to the door of the church, and to be bound to stakes by chains of iron and burned to death by a slow fire.

The sentence was carried out on La Barre, July 1, 1766. As Victor Hugo said, an assassination had been committed—by the judges.

Victor Hugo estimated the number of the victims of the Inquisition at five millions, it is said, and certainly the number was much greater than that if we take into account, as we should, the wives and husbands, the parents and children, the brothers and sisters, and other relatives of those tortured and slaughtered by the priestly institution. To these millions should properly be added the other millions killed in the wars precipitated in the attempt to fasten the Inquisition upon the people of various countries, as the Netherlands and Germany.

## In the Netherlands.

Charles V. was the ruler of Spain and her possessions from 1516 to 1556, and his son, Philip II., from 1556 to 1598. It was four score years of hell. The Reformation was already too strong in Germany to be fully crushed out, but in Spain and the Netherlands the Inquisition and the sword of the fanatic had their millions of victims. The union of Spain and the Netherlands under one government was a monstrous adultery, predestined to breed all the fiends of proscription, exploitation, torture, and massacre. There never could be honorable peace between the Spaniard and the Netherlander so long as it should be attempted to subject both to the same code of laws and that code the creation of the Spaniard—gloomy, imperious, Catholic, remorseless.

Centuries before the time of Charles and Philip and Alva the church in the Netherlands had waged merciless war against the reforming sectaries, such as the Waldenses, Albigenses, Perfectists, Lollards, Poplicans, Arnaldists, and Bohemian Brothers. Death was the penalty of heresy, usually death by fire, but this was, perhaps, not the most severe form. "In Flanders monastic ingenuity had invented another most painful punishment for Waldenses and similar malefactors. A criminal whose guilt had



been established by the hot iron, hot plowshare, boiling kettle, or other logical proof, was stripped and bound to the stake; he was then flayed, from the neck to the navel, while swarms of bees were let loose to fasten upon his bleeding flesh and torture him to a death of exquisite agony" (Motley, "Rise of the Dutch Republic," Burt's ed., i., 60).

No pains were spared to favor the priest, to discriminate against the common man. "To establish an accusation against a bishop, seventy-two witnesses were necessary; against a deacon, twenty-seven; against an inferior dignitary, seven; while two were sufficient to convict a layman" (ibid.).

In those ages, when the priest, in the popular estimation, was little less than a god, a curse from his lips was often more feared than physical torments. Here is one of the priest's formal fulminations: "In the name of the Father, the Son, the Holy Ghost, the blessed Virgin Mary, John the Baptist, Peter and Paul, and all other saints in heaven, do we curse and cut off from our communion him who has thus rebelled against us. May the curse strike him in his house, barn, bed, path, city, castle. May he be cursed in battle, accursed in praying, in speaking, in silence, in eating, in drinking, in sleeping. May he be accursed in his taste, hearing, smell, and all his senses. May the curse blast his eyes, head, and his body, from his crown to the soles of his feet. I conjure you, devil, and all your imps, that you take no rest till you have brought him to eternal shame; till he is destroyed by drowning or hanging, till he is torn to pieces by wild beasts, or consumed by fire. Let his children become orphans, his wife a widow. I

command you, devil, and all your imps, that even as I now blow out these torches, you do immediately extinguish the light from his eyes. So be it—so be it. Amen. Amen” (ibid.). Motley forgets to note that this curse is simply the 109th Psalm, adapted to Papal uses. But the effect was startling. “Men who trembled neither at sword nor fire cowered like slaves before such horrid imprecations, uttered by tongues gifted, as it seemed, with superhuman power. Their fellow-men shrank from the wretches thus blasted, and refused communication with them as unclean and abhorred” (ibid.).

But by the opening of the sixteenth century the power of the church was beginning to decline. Priestly crime and corruption were having their reflex effect. The sale of absolutions was preparing the way for Luther. “Throughout the Netherlands the price current of the wares thus offered for sale was published in every town and village. God’s pardon for crimes already committed, or about to be committed, was advertised according to a graduated tariff. Thus poisoning, for example, was absolved for eleven ducats, six livres tournois. Absolution for incest was afforded at thirty-six livres, three ducats. Perjury came to seven livres and three carlines. Pardon for murder, if not by poison, was cheaper. Even a parricide could buy forgiveness at God’s tribunal for one ducat, four livres, eight carlines. Henry de Montfort, in the year 1448, purchased absolution for that crime at that price” (ibid.). One might think that these prices for capital crimes were low enough to have depopulated the country, but it is to be borne in

mind that money was then scarce and high, its purchasing power being about five times what it is now.

X Luther appears upon the scene. The Reformation is born. The Netherland provinces are the private property of Charles V., his paternal inheritance. Without consulting with the estates, he issued at Worms in 1521 an edict of wholesale condemnation. "As it appears that the aforesaid Martin is not a man, but a devil under the form of a man, and clothed in the dress of a priest, the better to bring the human race to hell and damnation, therefore all his disciples and converts are to be punished with death and the forfeiture of all their goods" (ibid., 67). The papal Inquisition was introduced to supplement the episcopal Inquisition. "In 1523, July 1, two Augustine monks were burned at Brussels, the first victims to Lutheranism in the provinces" (ibid., 68). "Another edict, published in the Netherlands, forbids all private assemblies for devotion; all reading of the Scriptures; all discussions within one's own doors concerning faith, the sacraments, the papal authority or other religious matter, under penalty of death. The edicts were no dead letter. The fires were kept constantly supplied with human fuel by monks who knew the art of burning reformers better than that of arguing with them. The scaffold was the most conclusive of syllogisms, and based upon all occasions. Still the people remained unconvinced. Thousands of burned heretics had not made a single convert. A fresh edict renewed and sharpened the punishment for reading the Scriptures in private or public" (ibid.).

The Anabaptists came into prominence. Luther and Zwingli were as bitter against the new heretics as were the pope and the emperor against all the heretics. "In 1526 Felix Mants, the Anabaptist, is drowned at Zurich, in obedience to Zwingli's pithy formula—*Qui iterum mergit mergatur*.\* Thus the Anabaptists, upon their first appearance, were exposed to the fires of the church and the water of the Zwinglians" (ibid., 69). But they grew rapidly in numbers and power, and soon became masters of the city of Munster. Here, they, in their turn, made manifest their conception of reform. "They confiscated property, plundered churches, violated females, murdered men who refused to join the gang, and, in brief, practiced all the enormities which humanity alone can conceive or perpetrate" (ibid.). They were found in all parts of the Netherlands. Many were put to death in lingering torments, but no perceptible effect was produced by the chastisement." The army of the Bishop of Munster recovered his city for him and John, the "King of Sion," the leader of the revolt, was pinched to death with red-hot tongs. But this did not end the vengeance of the gentle Bishop and of Charles. "Thousands and ten-thousands of virtuous, well-disposed men and women who had as little sympathy with Anabaptistical as with Roman depravity, were butchered in cold blood, under the sanguinary rule of Charles, in the Netherlands. In 1533, Queen Dowager Mary of Hungary, sister of the Emperor, regent of the provinces, the 'Christian widow' admired by Erasmus,

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\*He who sinks again and again, let him sink for good.

wrote to her brother that in her opinion 'all heretics, whether repentant or not, should be prosecuted with such severity as that error might be at once extinguished, care being only taken that the provinces were not entirely depopulated.' With this humane limitation, the 'Christian widow' cheerfully set herself to superintend as foul and wholesale a system of murder as was ever organized.

✱ In 1535 an imperial edict was issued, at Brussels, condemning all heretics to death; repentant males to be executed with the sword, repentant females to be buried alive, the obstinate of both sexes to be burned. This and similar edicts were the law of the land for twenty years, and rigidly enforced. Imperial and papal persecution continued its daily deadly work with such diligence as to make it doubtful whether the limits set by the Regent Mary might not be overstepped" (ibid., 70). April 29, 1549, a new edict was issued at Brussels "confirming and re-enacting all previous decrees in their most severe provisions" (ibid., 71).

October 25, 1555, Charles V. abdicated in favor of his son, Philip II. The great, the merciless, ambition of father and son was the maintenance of the absolute supremacy of the Roman Catholic church, no matter what the cost in treasure, pain, and life, and the poor Netherlands were to pay all this cost. "Charles introduced and organized a papal Inquisition, side by side with those terrible 'placards' of his invention, which constituted a masked Inquisition even more cruel than that of Spain. The execution of the system was never permitted to languish. The number of Netherlands who were burned, strangled, beheaded, or

buried alive, in obedience to his edicts, and for the offense of reading the Scriptures, or looking askance at a graven image, or of ridiculing the actual presence of the body and blood of Christ in a wafer, has been placed as high as one hundred thousand by distinguished authorities, and has never been put at a lower mark than fifty thousand. The Venetian envoy Navigero placed the number of victims in the provinces of Holland and Friesland alone at thirty thousand, and this in 1546, ten years before the abdication, and five before the promulgation of the hideous edict of 1550" *ibid.*, 99). And what was this edict, promulgated by Charles and re-enacted by Philip immediately upon his accession to power? Here are its leading provisions:

“‘No one shall print, write, copy, keep, conceal, sell, buy, or give in churches, streets, or other places, any book or writing made by Martin Luther, John Ecolampadius, Ulrich Zwinglius, Martin Bucer, John Calvin, or other heretics reprobated by the Holy Church; . . . nor break, or otherwise injure the images of the Holy Virgin or canonized saints; . . . nor in his house hold conventicles, or illegal gatherings, or be present at any such in which the adherents of the above-mentioned heretics teach, baptize, and form conspiracies against the Holy Church and the general welfare. . . . Moreover, we forbid,’ continues the edict, in the name of the sovereign, ‘all lay persons to converse or dispute concerning the Holy Scriptures, openly or secretly, especially on any doubtful or difficult matters, or to read, teach, or expound the Scriptures, unless they have duly studied theology and been approved by some re-

nowned university: . . . or to preach, secretly or openly, or to entertain any of the opinions of the above-mentioned heretics; . . . on pain, should any one be found to have contravened any of the points above mentioned, as perturbators of our state and of the general quiet, to be punished in the following manner: That such perturbators of the general quiet are to be executed, to wit: The men with the sword and the women to be buried alive, if they do not persist in their errors; if they do persist in them, then they are to be executed with fire; all their property in both cases being confiscated to the crown. . . . We forbid all persons to lodge, entertain, furnish with food, fire, or clothing, or otherwise to favor any one holden or notoriously suspected of being a heretic; . . . and any one failing to denounce any such we ordain shall be liable to the above-mentioned punishments.' The edict went on to provide, 'that if any person, being not convicted of heresy or error, but greatly suspected thereof, and therefore condemned by the spiritual judge to abjure such heresy, or by the secular magistrate to make public reparation, shall again become suspected or tainted with heresy—although it should not appear that he has contravened or violated any one of our above-mentioned commands—nevertheless, we do will and ordain that such person shall be considered as relapsed, and, as such, be punished with loss of life and property, without any hope of moderation or mitigation of the above-mentioned penalties. . . . The spiritual judges [inquisitors], desiring to proceed against any one for the crime of heresy, shall request any of our sovereign courts or provincial



councils to appoint any one of their college, or such other adjunct as the council shall select, to preside over the proceedings to be instituted against the suspected. All who know of any persons tainted with heresy are required to denounce and give them up to all judges, officers of the bishops, or others having authority on the premises, on pain of being punished according to the pleasure of the judge. Likewise all shall be obliged, who know of any place where such heretics keep themselves, to declare them to the authorities, on pain of being held as accomplices, and punished as such heretics themselves would be if apprehended.' . . . It was ordained, 'that the informer, in case of conviction, should be entitled to one-half the property of the accused, if not more than one hundred pounds Flemish; if more, then ten per cent. of all such excess.' Treachery to one's friends was encouraged by the provision, 'that if any man being present at any secret conventicle shall afterward come forward and betray his fellow-members of the congregation, he shall receive full pardon.' The sovereign continued to ordain: 'To the end that the judges and officers may have no reason, under pretext that the penalties are too great and heavy and only intended to terrify delinquents, to punish them less severely than they deserve—that the culprits be really punished by the penalties above declared; forbidding all judges to alter or moderate the penalties in any manner—forbidding any one, of whatsoever condition, to ask of us, or of any one having authority, to grant pardon, or to present any petition in favor of such heretics, exiles, or fugitives, on penalty of being declared forever incapa-

ble of civil and military office, and of being arbitrarily punished besides' " (ibid., 222 to 225).

It will be seen that the suspected heretic or the protector of heretics had no reason to hope that the clause which left the punishment in the "pleasure of the judge" would result in any softening of the cruel penalties, for the judge was expressly forbidden to inflict any punishment less atrocious than that prescribed in the edict—but he was left free to make more diabolical as his ingenuity could devise. The Bishop of Arras, later Cardinal Granvelle, had advised Philip, who needed no urging, to at once re-enact this infamous decree of the father of the king. And yet this was the king who said of himself that "from the beginning of his government" he had "followed the path of clemency, according to his natural disposition, so well-known to all the world"; this was the prelate who declared that he "had ever combated the opinion that anything could be accomplished by terror, death and violence." The history of Charles, Philip, Granvelle, and the popes of that bloody epoch, as revealed centuries afterward in their own late-discovered correspondence, shows that they were past-masters of the arts of dissimulation, lying, and cold-blooded treachery to friend and foe. They never told the truth when a falsehood could be used; they deceived their allies; they lured to death every man they could befool, no matter how loyal to king and church he was, if he had ever dared to even whisper a protest against their sanguinary deeds, and they continually plotted against the ancient charters of the people's liberties and the lives of the people's champions. Their preferred weapons were treacher-

ous professions of friendship, malignant lies, the poison cup, the dagger and bludgeon of the assassin. Thus through life they lied, betrayed, ravished, tortured, and murdered in the name of Christ and for the cause of morality.

Charles, disciple of "the Prince of Peace," zealously using the Inquisition for the purpose of promulgating the doctrines attributed to that Prince, could yet say to the young officers who came to him to serve in his armies, "Pray only for my health and life, for so long as I have these I will never leave you idle; at least in France. I love peace no better than the rest of you. I was born and bred to arms, and must of necessity keep on my harness till I can bear it no longer." And from his place of retreat after his abdication were heard only "bitter regrets that he should have kept his word to Luther, . . . fierce instructions thundered . . . to the inquisitors to hasten the execution of all heretics" (*ibid.*, 114).

Philip began his reign with false oaths to the Netherlanders. "His oath to support all the institutions and privileges was without reservation, while his father and grandfather had sworn to maintain only the charters granted or confirmed by Philip [the Good] and Charles of Burgundy" (*ibid.*, 116). This was done with the deliberate intention of trapping and slaughtering the people of the provinces. "He was unsparing in those promises which he knew to be binding only upon the weak." He married Mary Tudor of England. "To maintain the supremacy of the church seemed to both the main object of existence, to execute unbelievers the most sacred duty imposed by the Deity upon

anointed princes" (ibid., 118). His piety was intense and profound, that was certain. The fact was established in the second year of his reign, in the war with France, a war treacherously and wantonly instigated by Pope Paul and his brother, Cardinal Caraffa. The city of St. Quentin had fallen into his hands. "To a horrible carnage succeeded a sack and a conflagration still more horrible. In every house entered during the first day every human being was butchered. . . . The women were not generally outraged, but they were stripped almost entirely naked, lest they should conceal treasure which belonged to their conquerors, and they were slashed in the face with knives, partly in sport, partly as a punishment for not giving up property which was not in their possession. The soldiers even cut off the arms of many among these wretched women, and then turned them loose, maimed and naked, into the blazing streets. . . . Philip issued an order that every woman, without exception, should be driven out of the city into French territory. . . . The ghastly procession of more than three thousand women, many with gaping wounds in the face, many with their arms cut off and festering, of all ranks and ages, some numbering more than ninety years, bareheaded, with gray hair streaming upon their shoulders; others with nursing infants in their arms, all escorted by a company of heavily armed troopers, left forever their native city. . . . The expulsion of the women had been accomplished by the express command of Philip, who moreover had made no effort to stay the work of carnage, pillage, and conflagration. The pious king had not forgotten, however, his duty to the saints. As soon

as the fire had broken out, he had sent to the cathedral, whence he had caused the body of Saint Quentin to be removed and placed in the royal tent. Here an altar was arranged, upon one side of which was placed the coffin of that holy personage, and upon the other the head of the 'glorious Saint Gregory,' together with many other relics brought from the church. Within the sacred inclosure many masses were said daily" (ibid., 159 to 162). The remains of the century-dead saints were saved—never mind about the dog-gnawed carcasses of the freshly slain in the streets; never mind about the mutilated and heart-broken women driven into hopeless exile.

During the next year (1558) the Bishop of Arras and the Cardinal de Lorraine had a secret meeting at Peronne. The bishop insisted that the two Catholic monarchs should cease their mutual warfare and unite for the extirpation of heresy. "A crusade with the whole strength of the French and Spanish crowns was resolved upon against their own subjects. The bishop's task was accomplished" (ibid., 165). The crusade slumbered for many years, but Philip never wavered in his purpose and at last was rewarded by the glorious news of the massacre of Saint Bartholomew's Eve, which was at least a partial consummation of the kingly plot of wholesale murder. On his side, he had been faithful to the compact of slaughter, almost the only time he was ever known to keep his word. He had turned the Netherlands into a shambles. But his confederate in the scheme of cruelty and death, Henry of France, had been indiscreet, for he had revealed the design to Prince William of Orange, when that

noble was a hostage in France for Philip's performance of the terms of their treaty of peace. Henry took it for granted that Orange, a Catholic and a favorite of Philip, was "safe" even if not already cognizant of the infamous purpose of the "most Catholic" king. Then it was that William of Orange won the right to be known as the "Silent." He kept his countenance under control and his tongue bridled, but never after that hour was he deceived by the smooth professions of the mendacious and ruthless king of Spain.

Before Philip returned to Spain, after the conclusion of the war with France, he let pass unimproved no opportunity to impress upon the estates and officials in the Netherlands the imperative necessity of dealing with the utmost rigor with heresy in every form. He addressed "an elaborate letter to the grand council of Mechlin, the supreme court of the provinces, and to the various provincial councils and tribunals of the whole country. The object of the communication was to give his final orders on the subject of the edicts, and for the execution of all heretics in the most universal and summary manner. He gave stringent and unequivocal instructions that these decrees for burning, strangling, and burying alive should be fulfilled to the letter. He ordered all judicial officers and magistrates 'to be curious to inquire on all sides as to the execution of the placards,' stating his intention that 'the utmost rigor should be employed without any respect of persons,' and that not only 'the transgressors should be proceeded against, but also the judges who should prove remiss in their prosecution of heretics.' He alluded to a false opinion

which had gained currency that the edicts were intended only against Anabaptists. Correcting this error, he stated that they were to be 'enforced against all sectaries, without any distinction of mercy, who might be spotted merely with the errors introduced by Luther' " (ibid., 187).

Barely escaping shipwreck on the return voyage, he attributed his escape to the assumed fact that he had been intrusted with a mighty mission, the extirpation of heresy. His deformed body and warped brain were saved in order that he might be the means of torturing and murdering uncounted thousands of unoffending men, women, and children in the Netherlands! In response to his request, the pope issued a bull directed to the Inquisitor-General of Spain, Valdes, ordering him "to consign to the flames all prisoners whatever, even those who were not accused of having 'relapsed' " (ibid., 190). The first following auto-da-fe was consummated at Valladolid on the 21st of May, 1559. The king had not yet returned, but the remainder of the royal family was present, and the civil, ecclesiastical, and military notabilities. The princess regent was throned near the scaffold, the holy sword in hand. The Archbishop of Seville led the procession of ministers of the Inquisition and victims. When Philip reached Spain another auto-da-fe took place at Valladolid, for the especial delectation of the self-vaunted "merciful" monarch. After eagerly taking the oath to sustain the Inquisition, thirteen distinguished victims were burned before his eyes. Immediately afterward, fifty living heretics were burned in an auto-da-fe at Seville. Thus it was that Philip, ruler of the Netherlands,



"celebrated his escape from shipwreck and his marriage with Isabella of France, immediately afterward solemnized. These human victims, chained and burned at the stake, were the blazing torches which lighted the monarch to his nuptial couch" (ibid., 192).

Margaret of Parma, "natural" sister of Philip, now (1559) became Regent of the Netherlands. "She was an enthusiastic Catholic, and had sat at the feet of Loyola, who had been her confessor and spiritual guide. She felt a greater horror for heretics than for any other species of malefactors, and looked up to her father's bloody edicts as if they had been special revelations from on high" (ibid., 195). She was thoroughly educated in the Machiavellian and Medicean school of dissimulation. The real ruler of the provinces, however, under Philip, was Anthony Perrenot, Bishop of Arras, soon to be known as Cardinal Granvelle. He was a smooth, specious, artful priest; a master of flattery, slavish in his loyalty to the king, eloquent with tongue and pen, remorseless in his treatment of doubters and deniers. His ruling passions were the accumulation of wealth and the suppression of dissent. At the solicitation of Philip, Pope Paul IV. increased the number of bishoprics in the Netherlands from four to fifteen and created three archbishoprics. Heresy was increasing, the Inquisition must be strengthened. In the words of Paul when he issued this bull, "The harvest was plentiful, but the laborers were few." The Pope decreed that "each bishop should appoint nine additional prebendaries, who were to assist him in the matter of the inquisition throughout his bishopric, two of whom were

themselves to be inquisitors." This bull of Pope Paul shows how utterly unfounded is the claim of late Catholic apologists that the Church was not blameworthy for the reign of terror in that age, that the Inquisition was not sanctioned by her.

Arras was inclined to take the word "inquisitor" out of the edict. The people hated the word; if the inquisition could be practiced and the heretics burned, that was what was essential; it were better to suppress the term and retain the thing. In the meantime, Philip was busy. "He forwarded particular details to the Duchess and Cardinal concerning a variety of men and women, sending their names, ages, personal appearance, occupations, and residences, together with directions for their immediate immolation. Even the inquisitors of Seville were set to work to increase, by means of their branches or agencies in the provinces, the royal information on this all-important subject. 'There are but few of us left in the world,' he moralized in a letter to the bishop, 'who care for religion. 'Tis necessary, therefore, for us to take the greater heed for Christianity. We must lose our all, if need be, in order to do our duty'" (ibid., 237). Was Philip the originator of the maxim that "one with God is a majority"?

The Inquisition, whether episcopal, papal, or Spanish, was in essence a unit. As Motley says, "However classified or entitled, it was a machine for inquiring into a man's thoughts, and for burning him if the result was not satisfactory. . . . It arrested on suspicion, tortured till confession, and then punished by fire." The biographer of Philip II. described the Spanish Inquisition as "A heav-

only remedy, a guardian angel of paradise, a lion's den in which Daniel and other just men could sustain no injury, but in which perverse sinners were torn to pieces" (ibid., 277). "Perverse sinners," of course, were heretics, or those suspected of heresy, or wealthy men and women whose property the church coveted. We have seen how, at the beginning of Philip's reign, the episcopal inquisition had been strengthened by the increase in the number of bishops and the creation of three archbishoprics, with their attendant inquisitors. But a papal inquisition was also in operation, Pope Adrian, at the instance of Charles, having in 1522 appointed Francis Van der Hulst inquisitor-general for the Netherlands. Van der Hulst was described by Erasmus as a "wonderful enemy to learning," and the same writer said to his coadjutor, Nicholas of Egmond, a Carmelite monk, that he was "a madman armed with a sword." Final judgment in the case of the victims of these two was determined by the advice of Laurens, president of the grand council of Mechlin, "a coarse, cruel, and ignorant man, who 'hated learning with a more than deadly hatred'" (ibid., 279). Van der Hulst lost his position before the end of two years, for forgery, but his successors carried on the infamous work with equal zeal, their powers being gradually extended and consolidated. The papal came to dominate the episcopal inquisition, and its chiefs received from Rome authority to appoint delegates or sub-inquisitors. The power of these inquisitors was practically unlimited, the civil officials and courts being terrorized into doing whatever the inquisitors ordered, for fear of sharing the fate of the unhappy

heretics if they showed the least mercy in executing the judgments of the "spiritual judges." Charles ordered the inquisitors "to make it known that they were not doing their own work, but that of Christ, and to persuade all persons of this fact." In addition, "a special edict had been issued on the 26th of April, 1550, according to which all judicial officers, at the requisition of the inquisitors, were to render them all assistance in the execution of their office, by arresting and detaining all persons suspected of heresy, according to instructions issued to said inquisitors; and this, notwithstanding any privileges or charters to the contrary. In short, the inquisitors were not subject to the civil authority, but the civil authority to them. The imperial edict empowered them to 'chastise, degrade, denounce, and deliver over heretics to the secular judges for punishment; to make use of jails, and to make arrests, without ordinary warrant, but merely with notice given to a single counselor, who was obliged to give sentence according to their desire, without application to the ordinary judge.' These instructions to the inquisitors had been renewed and confirmed by Philip, in the very first month of his reign, November, 1555" (*ibid.*, 281). So much for the authority back of and the machinery of torture and murder.

The atrocities committed during the first years of Philip's rule are simply indescribable; the Reign of Terror inaugurated and continued by the agents of the Inquisition was terrible beyond the power of words to make known to the modern mind or of the modern imagination to conceive; the brain reels and the heart sickens even after the passage of centuries when one reads the record of that awful

time. Philip boasted that the Inquisition in the Netherlands was "much more pitiless than that of Spain." What that implies may be imagined; it can never be realized by a man or woman of to-day. Tens of thousands of men, women, and children were tortured and burned almost immediately after the accession of Philip. Said a Catholic citizen of Valenciennes: "For two whole years there was scarcely a week in which several citizens were not executed, and often a great number were dispatched at a time." From Rome and Madrid came the orders to rack and kill; the dungeons were filled by the spies and man-catchers as fast as they were emptied by the scaffold. Men and women were broken on the wheel, racked, dragged at horses' tails; their sight was extinguished, their tongues torn out by the roots, their hands and feet burned and twisted off between red-hot irons; they were starved, drowned, hanged, burned, killed in every slow and agonizing way that the malicious inventiveness of priests could devise. Sometimes they were suspended by the feet and lingered in misery for days. Sometimes—racked, torn, tongueless—their arms and legs were fastened together behind their backs and each was hooked by the middle of the body to an iron chain and then made to swing to and fro over a slow fire until entirely roasted.

Here is an example of the way in which a heretic family would be destroyed: "In the next year Titelmann [Peter Titelmann, one of the most fiendish and "effective" of the sub-inquisitors] caused one Robert Ogier, of Ryssel, in Flanders, to be arrested, together with his wife and two sons.

Their crime consisted in not going to mass, and in practicing private worship at home. They confessed the offense, for they protested that they could not endure to see the profanation of their Savior's name in the idolatrous sacraments. They were asked what rites they practiced in their own house. One of the sons, a mere boy, answered, 'We fall on our knees and pray to God that he may enlighten our hearts, and forgive our sins. We pray for our sovereign, that his reign may be prosperous, and his life peaceful. We also pray for the magistrates and others in authority, that God may protect and preserve them all.' The boy's simple eloquence drew tears even from the eyes of some of his judges; for the inquisitor had placed the case before the civil tribunal. The father and eldest son were, however, condemned to the stake. 'O God!' prayed the youth at the stake, 'Eternal Father, accept the sacrifice of our lives, in the name of thy beloved Son.' 'Thou liest, scoundrel!' fiercely interrupted a monk, who was lighting the fire; 'God is not your father; ye are the devil's children.' As the flames rose about them, the boy cried out once more, 'Look, my father, all heaven is opening, and I see ten hundred thousand angels rejoicing over us. Let us be glad, for we are dying for the truth.' 'Thou liest! thou liest!' again screamed the monk; 'all hell is opening, and you see ten thousand devils thrusting you into the fire.' Eight days afterward the wife of Ogier and his other son were burned; so that was the end of that family" (ibid., 285).

"In one day he [Titelmann] broke into a house in Ryssel, seized John de Swarte, his wife and four

children, together with two newly-married couples, and two other persons, convicted them of reading the Bible, and of praying in their own doors, and had them all immediately burned. Are these things related merely to excite superfluous horror? Are the sufferings of these obscure Christians beneath the dignity of history? Is it not better to deal with murder and oppression in the abstract, without entering into trivial details? The answer is that these things are the history of the Netherlands at this epoch; that these hideous details furnished the causes of that immense movement out of which a great republic was born and an ancient tyranny destroyed. . . . Nor is it, perhaps, always better to rely upon abstract phraseology, to produce a necessary impression. Upon some minds declamation concerning liberty of conscience and religious tyranny makes but a vague impression, while an effect may be produced upon them, for example, by a dry, concrete, cynical entry in an account book, such as the following, taken at hazard from the register of municipal expenses at Tournay, during the years with which we are now occupied:

“‘To Mr. Jacques Barra, executioner, for having tortured, twice, Jean de Lannoy, ten sous.

“‘To the same, for having executed, by fire, said Lannoy, sixty sous. For having thrown his cinders into the river, eight sous.’

“This was the treatment to which thousands, and tens of thousands, had been subjected in the provinces” (ibid., 286 to 288).

During all these years of blood Cardinal Gravelle was constantly writing to the king, pouring

into his greedy ears tales of the perversity of the leading nobles, quoting with holy horror their expressions of opposition to persecution, their declared opinion that "it is not right to shed blood for matters of faith." He could not understand such stupid perversity; from men of such elevated rank better things were to have been expected. But he never failed to attribute their reluctance to join in his horrible crimes to unworthy motives, and he used every artifice to lure them to destruction. That "vile animal called the people," however, with the more mercifully disposed nobles, proved too strong for Granvelle, and the king was constrained to relieve him of his duties at the court of the Duchess of Parma. But "the scenes of outrage, the frantic persecutions, were fast becoming too horrible to be looked upon by Catholic or Calvinist. The prisons swarmed with victims, the streets were thronged with processions to the stake." The burgomasters, senators, and council of the city of Bruges (all Catholics) humbly protested to the duchess regent against the illegal and wanton cruelties of Peter Titelmann, and the four estates of Flanders "in a solemn address to the king, represented the same facts." They petitioned to no purpose. In the privy council, the protest was "found to be in extremely bad taste," as President Viglius affirmed. The Duchess dared to do nothing for she was in mortal fear of Titelmann, and if she had dared she would have done nothing, unless as a temporary and deceitful concession to the clamors of the estates and the people. As for the king, he would reward Titelmann but never censure him, and he had already ordered the Duchess to publish and



enforce the decrees of the Council of Trent. The clouds were growing blacker and blacker, the outlook more and more hopeless. "‘To doubt the infallibility of the council [of Trent] as some have dared to do,’ said Francis de Vargas, ‘and to think it capable of error, is the most devilish heresy of all. Nothing could so disturb and scandalize the world as such a sentiment. Therefore the Archbishop of Granada told, very properly, the Bishop of Tortosa that if he should express such an opinion in Spain, they would burn him’" (ibid., 384). Philip ordered that "Inns were to receive no guests, schools no children, almshouses no paupers, graveyards no dead bodies, unless guests, children, paupers, and dead bodies were furnished with the most satisfactory proofs of orthodoxy. Midwives of unsuspected Romanism alone were to exercise their functions, and were bound to give notice within twenty-four hours of every birth which occurred; the parish clerks were as regularly to record every such addition to the population, and the authorities to see that Catholic baptism was administered in each case with the least possible delay. Births, deaths, and marriages could occur with validity only under the shadow of the Church" (ibid., 385).

Among the new ecclesiastics in the Netherlands was the Archbishop of Cambray. He had exerted himself to the utmost to cut and burn heresy out of Valenciennes. "‘I will say one thing,’ said he in a letter to Granvelle, which had been intercepted, ‘since the pot is uncovered, and the whole cookery known, we had best push forward and make an end of all the principal heretics, whether rich or poor, without regarding whether the city will be

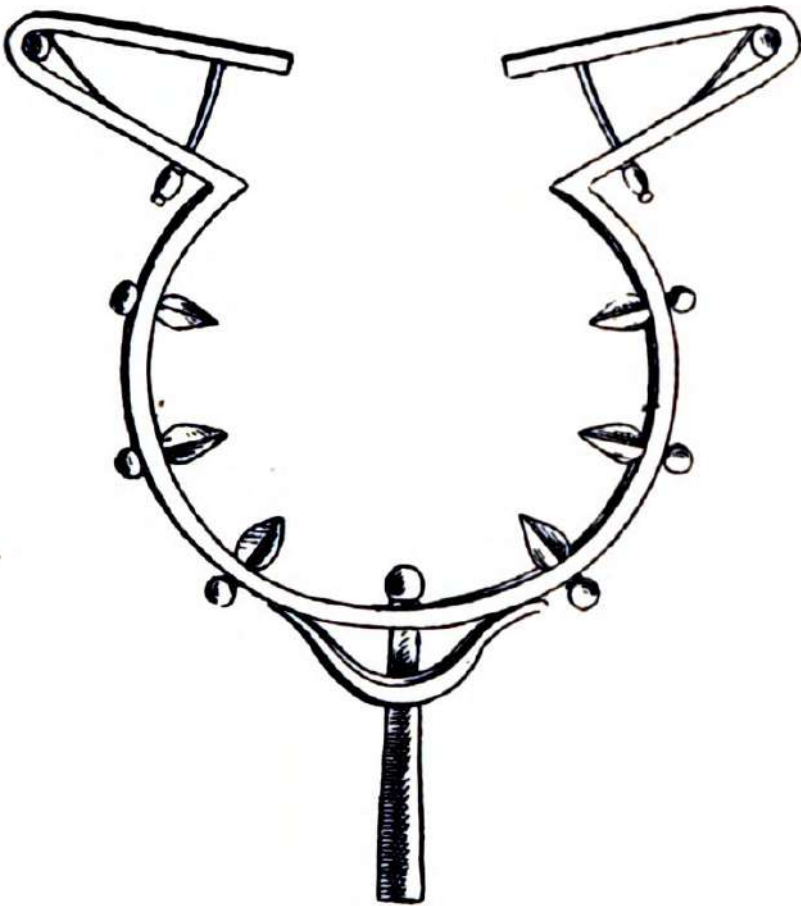
entirely ruined by such a course. Such an opinion I should declare openly were it not that we of the ecclesiastical profession are accused of always crying out for blood.' Such was the prelate's theory. His practice may be inferred from a specimen of his proceedings which occurred at a little later day. A citizen of Cambray, having been converted to the Lutheran Confession, went to the Archbishop, and requested permission to move out of the country, taking his property with him. The petitioner having made his appearance in the forenoon, was requested to call again after dinner, to receive his answer. The burgher did so, and was received, not by the prelate, but by the executioner, who carried the Lutheran to the market place, and cut off his head" (*ibid.*, 393).

Here we have another light thrown on the character of Philip: 'He requested the Duchess "forthwith to assemble an extraordinary session of the council [of state] at which certain bishops, theological doctors, and very orthodox lawyers, were to assist, in which, under pretense of discussing the Council of Trent matter, it was to be considered whether there could not be some 'new way devised for executing heretics; not indeed one by which any deduction should be made from their sufferings (which certainly was not the royal wish, nor likely to be grateful to God or salutary to religion), but by which all hopes of glory—that powerful incentive to their impiety—might be precluded'" (*ibid.*, 396). When the matter was discussed in the council it was found that the clerical and lay doctors were not in agreement. "The seigniors, lawyers, and deputies from the estates were

all in favor of repealing the penalty of death for heretical offenses of any kind. President Viglius, with all the bishops and doctors of divinity, including the prelates of St. Omer, Namur, and Ypres, and four theological professors from Louvain, stoutly maintained the contrary opinion" (ibid., 400). Merely another instance of that "crying out for blood" trait of the ecclesiastical profession, which was noted by the Archbishop of Cambray. . . .

"Thus, then, it was settled beyond peradventure that there was to be no compromise with heresy. The king had willed it. The theologians had advised it. The Duchess had proclaimed it. It was suggested that without the ax, the fire, and the rack, the Catholic religion would be extinguished, and that the whole population of the Netherlands would embrace the Reformed Faith. This was the distinct declaration of Viglius, in a private letter to Granvelle. 'Many seek to abolish the chastisement of heresy,' said he; 'if they gain this point, actum est de religione Catholica; for as most of the people are ignorant fools, the heretics will soon be the great majority, if by fear of punishment they are not kept in the true path'" (ibid., 402). Here were the prototypes of our American Sabbatarians, who loudly assert that without invasive and persecuting Sunday laws their Sabbath will go and that when that goes Christianity sinks into ruin.

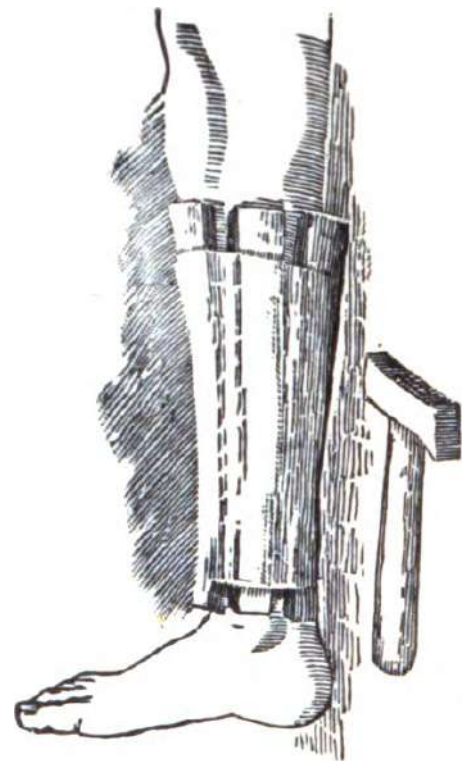
The shadow of the awful Inquisition was everywhere. The people were being surely pushed to the edge of the precipice of revolt. Philip wrote letter after letter, now encouraging the inquisitor-generals, now thanking the monstrous Titelmann, now ordering the Duchess Regent to at once exe-



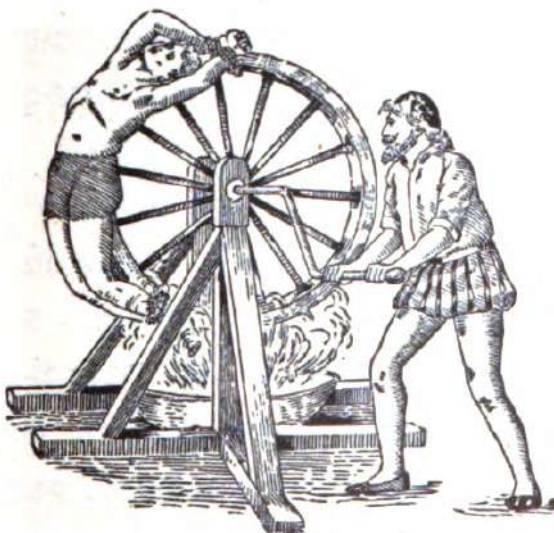
**Heretic Catcher.**



**Thumbscrew.**



**Leg Crusher.**



**Burning on the Wheel.**



**Spanish Collar.**

cute some Anabaptist prisoners whose fate she had referred to him, commanding her to sustain the Inquisition and to write to all secular judges to do likewise, and now telling Count Egmont to assist in the execution of the royal determination. The shadow grew darker. Soon a war was to begin which should last eighty years and end in the establishment of a republic, the complete defeat of the mighty power of Spain. In the early summer of 1566 the people broke loose in a peculiar way. They assembled in great multitudes in the fields to listen to preaching by ministers of the Reformed faith. They came armed, but were orderly, and returned peacefully to their vocations at the close of the meetings. The Duchess was frantic. She offered seven hundred crowns to the man who would bring her a preacher, dead or alive. She scattered proclamations broadcast. All in vain; the infection spread from one end of the country to the other. The Liberal Catholic nobles, of whom the Prince of Orange was the most prominent, were doing all they could to maintain order and keep all classes of the people at peace among themselves. Philip, the Pope, and the priests were responsible for the threatening appearance of the Reformation in the Netherlands, as they were to be responsible for all the devastation and slaughter of the next eighty years. Suppression and persecution were ripening, and were to continue to ripen, their inevitable evil seeds. Stormier grew the skies. The images and decorations in the churches of most of the cities were annihilated in a week of wild iconoclasm, but the fanatics who did the work (very few in number as compared with the whole

body of Reformers) did not torture nor kill; they attacked, not living bodies, but insensate images, the symbols of their long and agonizing slavery. But they were to pay dearly for their mad folly. Still Orange and the others tried to maintain order and prevent a worse outbreak; still the government at Brussels and Madrid procrastinated, dissimulated, schemed, lied, plotted. Count Egmont had at last definitely taken his stand for the king and had slaughtered many of the people; but his loyalty was not to save him—he had been marked for death from the hour when he made his first protest against the inquisition and the actions of Granvelle. The close of the year 1566 saw reaction everywhere. Garrisons had unresistingly been accepted by or had been forced upon most of the cities and towns whose citizens had manifested a desire for religious freedom. Valenciennes still held out, but the surrounding country was in the hell of religious war. “Men and women who attempted any communication with the city were murdered in cold blood by hundreds. The villagers were plundered of their miserable possessions, children were stripped naked in the midst of winter for the sake of the rags which covered them; matrons and virgins were sold at public auction by the tap of drum; sick and wounded wretches were burned over slow fires to afford amusement to the soldiers” (ibid., 534). Valenciennes surrendered, under promise of mercy. But hundreds of lives were taken, and for two years the killings continued.

William of Orange went to Germany, barely in time to escape the net laid for him by Philip. “The country was absolutely helpless, the popular heart

cold with apprehension. . . . Fugitive soldiers were hunted into rivers, cut to pieces in the fields, hanged, burned, or drowned, like dogs, without quarter, and without remorse. The most industrious and valuable part of the population left the land in droves. The tide swept outward with such rapidity that the Netherlands seemed fast becoming the desolate waste which they had been before the Christian era. . . . The new religion was banished from all the cities, every conventicle was broken up by armed men, the preachers and leading members were hanged, their disciples beaten with rods, reduced to beggary, or imprisoned, even if they sometimes escaped the scaffold. An incredible number, however, were executed for religious causes. Hardly a village so small . . . but that it could furnish one, two, or three hundred victims to the executioner. . . . The Regent issued a fresh edict upon the 24th of May" (*ibid.*, 573). This new proclamation was a sentence to death of many classes of persons, and the total confiscation of their property. It increased the exodus; the people left the country "in great heaps." Then came another edict, forbidding emigration, and denouncing death upon shipmasters, wagoners, and other carriers who should help fugitives to get out of the country.

Philip was now in a white rage; he wrote to the Regent ordering her to instantly revoke the edict of the 24th of May; its clemency shocked every fiber of his being. It was illegal, indecent, he said, contrary to the Christian religion. And in what did its clemency consist, think you? Why, it permitted heretical wretches to be hanged who should have been burned! To inflict such a mild death for an

error in opinion was "contrary to the Christian religion"!

On the tenth of May, 1567, the Duke of Alva embarked at Carthagená with ten thousand picked men and two thousand regularly enrolled prostitutes for the reclamation of the Netherlands or the extermination of its people. "It was the deliberate intention of Philip, when the Duke was dispatched to the Netherlands, that all the leaders of the anti-inquisition party, and all who had, at any time or in any way, implicated themselves in opposition to the government, or in censure of its proceedings, should be put to death. . . . In order that Egmont, Horn, and other distinguished victims might not take alarm, and thus escape the doom deliberately arranged for them, royal assurances were dispatched to the Netherlands, cheering their despondency and dispelling their doubts" (*ibid.*, 591, 592). Philip sent a letter to Egmont, written by his own hand, and full of affection and confidence, after Alva had started on his mission of vengeance, with the death warrants of Egmont and Horn and other Catholic nobles in his possession. Two other Netherland nobles, the Marquis Berghen and Baron Montigny, who had gone on a mission to Madrid and had been most kindly received by Philip, were still detained in the Spanish capital and were also secretly doomed to death. Berghen died of despairing homesickness, Montigny was quietly murdered in prison, while Horn and Egmont perished on the scaffold, all victims of their trust in the perfidious "most Christian king." Alva, apt pupil of his royal master, secured the arrest of Egmont and Horn by a despicable act of treachery.



Alva established the "Council of Trouble," which was usually called the "Council of Blood." In less than three months eighteen hundred persons had died through its decrees. Scores were condemned in a single day. On the evening of Shrovetide five hundred persons were captured, sentenced, and executed at once. The dead were everywhere. "Columns and stakes were planted in every street; even the door ways of private houses were used." On the sixteenth of February, 1568, the Holy Office condemned all the inhabitants of the Netherlands to death as heretics. Ten days later Philip ordered the sentence executed. This meant the massacre of three millions of people. Alva wrote to Philip that at the close of Holy Week 800 persons were to be immediately executed. To prevent the victims "disturbing the peace" by talking to the people in the streets while on the way to the scaffold and stake, a gag was invented which prevented blasphemy. The tongue was screwed into an iron ring and then seared on the end with a hot iron; swelling and inflammation prevented the tongue from slipping out of the ring.

The Netherlands revolted; "by the soul of my father, it shall cost them dear," exclaimed Philip. They were 3,000,000 of industrial people against the greatest military empire of the age. Papal bulls and edicts of excommunication reinforced the torments of the Inquisition and the armies of the merciless Alva. The order went out that all prisoners were to be strangled. At the "battle" of Jemmingen seven Spanish soldiers were killed and seven thousand rebels. Rapine, rape, and butchery desolated the land. The pope sent Alva a jeweled hat

and sword, a mark of honor rarely bestowed by the Holy See. A tax of one per cent. was laid on all the property in the country; five per cent. upon every transfer of real estate; ten per cent. upon every article of merchandise, to be paid every time it was sold. These two taxes were to be perpetual. Of course such burdens could not be borne by any people. The city of Mons capitulated under promise of mercy; no mercy was shown, and the executions continued to the last of August, 1573. Mechlin was given by Alva to his soldiers, and the sack lasted for three days.

A word more on the composition and work of the "Council of Blood" is necessary. All other courts in the provinces were forbidden to take cognizance of cases growing out of the religious and political troubles. Citizens, municipal bodies, sovereign provincial estates, all must plead humbly before this irresponsible tribunal. Its creation violated every law, charter, and privilege of the provinces. "It defined and it punished the crime of treason. The definitions, couched in eighteen articles, declared it to be treason to have delivered or signed any petition against the new bishops, the Inquisition, or the edicts; to have tolerated public preaching under any circumstances; to have omitted resistance to the image-breaking, to the field preaching, or to the presentation of the Request by the nobles, and 'either through sympathy or surprise' to have asserted that the king did not possess the right to have deprived all the provinces of their liberties, or to have maintained that this present tribunal was bound to respect in any manner any laws or any charters. In these brief and



### Caricature of the Duke of Alva.

The heads to his left are of Cardinal Granvelle and the Duke of Guise. Burger and peasant are represented at the sides. The following is printed in German and French on the original picture: "He [Alva] has taken by force the riches of the land, and much innocent blood has he caused to be strangled or shed. He has taken the life of Egmont and Horn, and the nobles subdued or slain; so burgers and peasants think and mourn."

simple, but comprehensive, terms was the crime of high treason defined. The punishment was still more briefly, simply, and comprehensively stated, for it was instant death in all cases" (ibid., 606). It had not even nominal authority from the king, and even the Duke of Alva had not thought it worth the trouble to give a commission to any of its members. Alva was perpetual president, he appointed all the other members and all subordinates; only two of the other members (Spaniards) could vote, and the final decision in every case was in his own hands. "Two reasons,' he wrote to the king, 'have determined me to thus limit the power of the tribunal; the first that, not knowing its members, I might easily be deceived by them; the second, that the men of law condemn only for crimes which are proved; whereas your majesty knows that affairs of state are governed by very different rules from the laws which they have here'" (ibid., 608). The two members who could vote, the Spaniards Del Rio and Juan de Vargas, were the ready tools of Alva, de Vargas being passionately devoted to cruelty and bloodshed. "His youth had been stained with other crimes. He had been obliged to retire from Spain because of his violation of an orphan child to whom he was guardian, but in his manhood he found no pleasure but in murder. He executed Alva's bloody work with an industry which was almost superhuman, and with a merriment which would have shamed a demon. His execrable jests ring through the blood and smoke and death-cries of those days of perpetual sacrifice. He was proud to be the double of the iron-hearted Duke" (ibid., 610). "Among the

ciphers who composed the rest of the board, the Flemish Councilor Hessels was the one whom the duke most respected. He was not without talent or learning, but the duke valued him only for his cruelty. Being allowed to take but little share in the deliberations, Hessels was accustomed to doze away after his afternoon hours at the council table, and when awakened from his nap in order that he might express an opinion on the case then before the court, was wont to rub his eyes and to call out 'Ad patibulum, ad patibulum' (to the gallows with him, to the gallows with him), with great fervor, but in entire ignorance of the culprit's name or the merits of the case" (ibid., 611). "It was necessary that the bloody torrent should flow at once through the Netherlands, in order that the promised golden river [from the confiscation of the property of the slaughtered] a yard deep, according to his [Alva's] vaunt, should begin to irrigate the thirsty soil of Spain. . . . Information was lodged against a man, or against a hundred men, in one document. The duke sent the papers to the council, and the inferior councilors reported at once to Vargas. If the report concluded with a recommendation of death to the man, or the hundred men, in question, Vargas instantly approved it, and execution was done upon the man, or the hundred of men within forty-eight hours. If the report had any other conclusion, it was immediately sent back for revision, and the reporters were overwhelmed with the reproaches by the president. . . . It was not often that an individual was of sufficient importance to be tried—if trial it could be called—by himself. It was found more

expeditious to send them in batches to the furnace. Thus, for example, on the 4th of January, eighty-four inhabitants of Valenciennes were condemned; on another day, ninety-five miscellaneous individuals from the different places in Flanders; on another, forty-six inhabitants of Malines; on another, thirty-five persons from different localities, and so on. . . . Persons were daily executed with senseless pretexts, which was worse than execution with no pretexts at all. Thus Peter de Witt of Amsterdam was beheaded because at one of the tumults in that city he had persuaded a rioter not to fire upon a magistrate. This was taken as sufficient proof that he was a man in authority among the rebels. . . . It was at this time that the learned Viglius wrote to his friend Hopper that all venerated the prudence and gentleness of the Duke of Alva" (*ibid.*, 611 to 616).

At Groningen, after the battle of Jemmingen, "Maids and matrons were ravished in multitudes; old men butchered in cold blood. As Alva returned, with the rear-guard of his army, the whole sky was red with a constant conflagration; the very earth seemed changed to ashes. Every peasant's hovel, every farmhouse, every village upon the road, had been burned to the ground" (*ibid.*, 682). After this "the altars again smoked with victims; the hanging, burning, drowning, beheading," went on as before. And yet after all this Philip could say to the envoys of Maximilian that he "had not used rigor, as had been charged against him, but, on the contrary, great clemency and gentleness." At the same time he declared again that "in things sacred he could admit of no compromise. The

church alone had the right to prescribe rules to the faithful"—and to all others he should be understood to say (*ibid.*, 722). "Still the gibbet and the stake were loaded with their daily victims." Philip ordered that spies should "keep watch at every administration of the sacraments, whether public or private, whether at the altar or deathbeds, and should report for exemplary punishment (that is to say, death by fire) all persons who made derisive or irreverential gestures, or who did not pay suitable honor to the said sacraments. Furthermore, . . . the same spies were to keep watch at the couch of the dying, and to give immediate notice to the government of all persons who should dare to depart this life without previously receiving extreme unction and the holy wafer. The estates of such culprits, it was ordained, should be confiscated, and their bodies dragged to the public place of execution" (*ibid.*, 730). In the north of Holland, an Anabaptist had been condemned to death; he made his escape and fled across a lake thinly covered with ice, the officer in close pursuit; he crossed, but the officer broke through and would have drowned had not the fugitive returned, at the peril of his life on the cracking ice, and rescued his pursuer. The Burgomaster of Asperen sternly commanded the officer to arrest the preserver of his life, which he did, and over-generous Dirk Willenzoon "was burned to death under the most lingering tortures" (*ibid.*, 731). It has been mentioned that the pope sent a hat and jeweled sword to Alva. It was about this time that he received it, with an autograph letter from his Holiness in which he was adjured "to remember, when

he put the hat upon his head, that he was guarded with it as with a helmet of righteousness, and with the shield of God's help, indicating the heavenly crown which was ready for all princes who supported the Holy Church and the Roman Catholic faith.' The motto on the sword ran as follows: 'Accipe sanctum gladium, munus a Deo in quo deicies adversarios populi mei Israel' " (ibid., 732).

The gates of Rotterdam had been closed against the officers of the king after the capture of Brill by the navy of Orange. But entrance was effected and "within a few minutes four hundred citizens were murdered. The fate of the women, abandoned now to the outrage of brutal soldiery, was worse than death" (ibid., i., 34). Alva "issued distinct orders to butcher 'every mother's son' in the cities which he captured" (ibid., 57).

Philip was beside himself with joy when he received the news of the massacre of Saint Bartholomew's Eve in France. Saint Goard, French envoy at Madrid, wrote to his master, Charles IX.: "The king, on receiving the intelligence, showed, contrary to his natural custom, so much gayety that he seemed more delighted than with all the good fortune or happy incidents which had ever before occurred to him. He called all his familiars about him in order to assure them that your majesty was his good brother, and that no one else deserved the title of Most Christian. He sent his secretary Cayas to me with his felicitations upon the event and with the information that he was just going to Saint Jerome to render thanks to God, and to offer his prayers that your majesty might receive divine support in this great affair. I



went to see him next morning, and as soon as I came into his presence he began to laugh, and with demonstrations of extreme contentment to praise your majesty as deserving the title of Most Christian, telling me there was no king worthy to be your majesty's companion, either for valor or prudence. He praised the steadfast resolution and the long dissimulation of so great an enterprise, which all the world would not be able to comprehend. . . . I thanked him,' continued the ambassador, 'and I said that I thanked God for enabling your majesty to prove to his master that his apprentice had learned his trade and deserved his title of Most Christian king. I added that he ought to confess that he owed the preservation of the Netherlands to your majesty'" (ibid., 60). The massacre was indeed a terrible blow to Orange and his friends in the struggle for liberty, destroying, as it did, all hope of aid from France.

Zutphen was taken and Alva's son obeyed his father's orders to "leave not a single man alive in the city." The work of slaughter becoming too fatiguing, "five hundred innocent burghers were tied two and two, back to back, and drowned like dogs in the river Yssel" (ibid., 83). Others were hung up by the feet, some lingering for four days. The women were universally outraged. At Naarden, the leading citizens, to the number of five hundred, assembled in the church to listen to the message of Romero, the Spanish commander. The Spaniards had just been feasted by the people, and Romero had previously thrice pledged his word with his hand that the lives and property of all should be respected. Suddenly the Spaniards threw

open the door and rushed into the church, firing a volley as they came. All there were struck down and the dead and dying consumed in the flames of the church. Then the work of massacre was resumed in the streets. None was spared; the foulest atrocities were committed. "Neither church nor hearth was sacred. Men were slain, women outraged, at the altars, in the streets, in their blazing homes." "Those who attempted resistance were crimped alive like fishes, and left to gasp themselves to death in lingering torture" (ibid., 87). When Haarlem fell, thousands were murdered, in spite of the promise of mercy given by Alva's son, the conqueror. At the taking of Antwerp, those gentle messengers of Holy Mother Church, the Spanish soldiers, went into the fight with these cries upon their lips, "Saint James, Spain, blood, flesh, fire, sack!" Eight thousand men, women and children were murdered.

These are a few examples of the work of the Pope and of the Most Christian king in the Netherlands selected at random, almost, from the interminable list of sanguinary events of the first few years of a struggle that lasted for four-fifths of a century. On his departure from the Netherlands Alva boasted that he had ordered eighteen thousand six hundred executions, for religious offenses. He said nothing of the tens of thousands massacred in other ways. The Netherlands fought eighty years for independence, at the cost of millions of lives. In the end the Inquisition was rooted out, and the country lost to the Catholic powers.

# The Inquisitor's Manual.

☆ A "Directorium," or manual, was prepared and promulgated about 1376 by one Nicholas Eymerich, grand inquisitor of Aragon, and was the authoritative text-book for the use of inquisitors until the issue, in 1483-4, of Torquemada's "Instructions," which was an enlarged and revised "Directorium." Upon the invention of printing, the work of Eymerich was one of the first books printed at Barcelona, and it was republished, with notes and commentaries, in 1558, and again under the authority of Pope Gregory XIII. in 1578. This manual of inquisition says:

\\ "When the delation made has no appearance of being true, not for this reason should the inquisitor cancel the process, for what is not discovered on one day may be made manifest on another."

\\ "In every parish must be named two clergymen (priests), with two or three laymen, who, after having been sworn, shall make continued and rigorous investigations in every house, in all rooms, garrets, lofts, and cellars, to ascertain if there are any heretics concealed." In a note Senor Mackenna remarks on this item that "in the directions sent by the Roman Emperor Trajan to the celebrated Pliny with regard to his manner of dealing with the Christians (the heretics of those days) he

prohibited the magistrates from making any search after them. He orders them also to reject anonymous charges, and to require for their conviction the positive evidence of a fair and open accuser." Such is the difference between a benighted pagan emperor and a Christian inquisitor and his modern imitators who denounce the "persecutions" to which the early apostles of their faith were subjected.

The Manual for the use of the Christian inquisitor proceeds:

"It is sufficient, the delation of two witnesses agreeing, that they have heard say that So-and-so is a heretic; this declaration being valid even when the two witnesses have not heard anything bad from the mouth of the said accused."

As to the character of witnesses against a heretic, "in causes of heresy with respect to the faith, the testimony of the excommunicated is received, as also that of the accomplices of the accused; of the infamous—i. e., of criminals accused or convicted of any crime whatsoever; in short, also that of heretics; always provided that these testimonies are against the accused, but never in their favor!"

A law peculiar to the process against heretics was that the testimony of "false witnesses against the accused was to be admitted; so that should a false witness retract his first declaration favorable to the accused, the judges must attend to the second." But "it is to be understood that the second declaration (of the perjured witness) is of value and to be accepted only when to the prejudice of the accused." Should one declaration be in favor of the accused and another to his prejudice, the judges must admit only the latter. If the accused

is charged with having uttered heretical sentiments, but denies and retracts them, he may be punished as a false witness on account of the retraction.

5) Against the accused, but never in his favor, are admitted the declaration of domestic witnesses, that is, of his wife, of his children, of his relatives and servants.

6) "It is admitted by all moralists," says the Manual of Inquisitor Eymerich, "that in causes of heresy a brother can declare against a brother, and a son against his father." Some having wished to exempt from this law the father and the children, it is argued that such an exception "would render erroneous the most convincing reasons, which are, that we ought to obey God in preference to our fathers; and that if it is lawful for one to take away the life of his father when the latter has become an enemy of his country, how much more ought one to denounce that parent when he becomes guilty of the crime of heresy!"

As a "premium" on the accusation of parents by children, it is provided that "a son, accuser of his father, does not incur the penalties fulminated by the law against the children of heretics."

7) Should it happen (a consummation to be guarded against as exceedingly dangerous) that a copy of the accusation is given to the prisoner, then the utmost care should be taken that he may not be able to divine who are the witnesses against him. The means to prevent this are the following: "1. To invert the order in which witnesses' names appear in the process, attributing to one the declaration of another. 2. To communicate the accusation without the names of the witnesses, and

to separate the names of these by mixing them with the names of others who have not declared against the accused." Here the practice of the Spanish Inquisition is cited as a model, as by it the accusation is communicated to the prisoner, but all the circumstances of time, place, and persons are suppressed under the disguise of a certain time, a certain place, a certain person.

The stratagems resorted to by accused persons to deceive inquisitors and to obstruct their "benevolent" purpose are deplored by Eymerich, who instructs his disciples how to frustrate them. He says that sometimes a prisoner will feign illness when he sees he is to be put to the torture; that the accused will affect modesty with regard to having the clothing removed, and that women "pretend to have complaints peculiar to their sex, so that they may delay the torture and deceive the inquisitors." These desperate expedients adopted as the last shield against tormentors, which excite the sympathy of the reader after the lapse of centuries, only exasperate the subtle Eymerich, and he goes on to tell how the victim may be betrayed or surprised into committing and convicting himself.

A chapter of the Manual, or directory, is headed "Of the Torture," and contains these reflections:

"The torture is not an infallible method to obtain the truth; there are some men so pusillanimous that at the first twinge of pain they will confess crimes they never committed; others there are so valiant and robust that they bear the most cruel torments. Those who have once been placed upon the rack suffer it with great courage, because

*Superstition*

their limbs accommodate themselves to it with facility or resist with force; others with charms render themselves insensible, and will die before they will confess anything." The obduracy of these almost drives Eymerich to despair. Subjects who render themselves insensible to pain are the worst cases. "These impiously use for their enchantments passages of the Scriptures, which they write in an extravagant manner upon virgin parchment, mixing them with the names of unknown angels, with circles and strange letters, which they have in some secret parts of their body. I do not know," he confesses, "if there are any remedies against these enchantments, but it is always well to strip and carefully examine the accused before putting them on the rack."

*10)*  
*highest*

Conjuring against "enchantments," the author gives further directions: "When sentence of torture has been given, and while the executioner is preparing to apply it, the inquisitor and the grave persons who assist him should make fresh attempts to persuade the accused to confess the truth; the executioners and their assistants, while stripping him, should affect uneasiness, haste, and sadness, endeavoring thus to instill fear into his mind; and when he is stripped naked the inquisitors should take him aside, exhorting him to confess, and promising him his life upon condition of his doing so, provided that he is not a 'relapsed' (one delated a second time), because in such a case they cannot promise him that." The temporizing expedients here recommended can have no purpose but that of saving the expense of torturing the accused to extort confession. Nothing can help



**Standard of Inquisition at Goa, East Indies.**



him; he is already condemned; only, the inquisitors may facilitate their work by observing the directions of the Manual.

Should the prisoner pass the verbal examination without tripping or losing his head or falling into the traps set for him by the executioners and their assistants, then "they proceed to the interrogatories, beginning with the points less serious for which he is judged, because he will confess the lighter crimes before the ones of more importance. If he still persists in denying, he should be shown the instruments used in other punishments and be told that he will have to suffer all of them if he does not confess the truth. In short, if he will not confess, the torture may be continued the second and third day—it may be continued but not repeated, because it cannot be repeated without fresh indications being shown in the cause, but it is lawful to continue it." Observe the hair-splitting distinction between "repeating" and "continuing." The torture inflicted on the first day may not be "repeated" on the second, but it may be "continued" from day to day!

11)

repeats

The defense of fines and confiscations is cheerfully and piously undertaken by the authors of the Manual. To quote:

"Besides penances (that is, pilgrimages, fastings, and the repeating of prayers) the Inquisition imposes fines. These fines are to be invested in performing pious works, such as the maintenance of the Holy Office; for it is quite conformable to justice that those who are condemned by the Holy Tribunal should pay for its subsistence, because St. Paul says, 1 Cor. chap. ix., 'No one has an obliga-

12)

tion to make war at his own cost: *Nemo cogitur stipendiis suis militare.*” (“Who goeth a warfare any time at his own charges?”—1 Cor. ix., 7.)

(B) “Among all the works of piety,” says Eymerich, “the most advantageous being the existence and permanence of the Inquisition, it does not admit of a doubt that they should apply the fines to the necessities and maintenance of the inquisitors and familiars, without a case of urgent necessity being requisite for their application, because it is above all things useful and advantageous to the faith of Christ for the inquisitors to have plenty of money, so they can maintain and pay well the familiars who search out and apprehend heretics; and also defray the other expenses of their ministry; and this is the more indispensable that they should thus apply the amount of the fines, because, as Guido Fulcodio says—who afterwards became pope by the name of Clement IV., ‘the hands of the prelates are tenacious, and their pockets closely tied up; *Quia prelatorum tenaces sunt manus, et marsupia constipate*’—that is to say, they do not assist with pleasure to defray the expenses caused by the searching out and punishing of heretics.”

The church would give moral but not financial support to the Inquisition, which must hustle for itself, like the buccaneer it was. As will be seen elsewhere, it was often obliged to divide its ill-gotten gains with the crown that defended its abuses against popular clamor for reform.

“If the property of those who repent before sentence has been passed is not confiscated, it is because of the same benignity (!) which consents

that they should live, they being unworthy to enjoy either life or property, because from the mere fact of incurring the guilt of heresy the goods they possessed are no longer theirs." Compassion for the children of the delinquent, though compelled to beg charity, cannot ameliorate the severity of this decree, because by divine and human law the children ought to be punished for the sins of the fathers. From that law the children of heretics are not exempt, although they be Catholics; and neither for this are they to be given that lawful portion which they would inherit by natural right.

"After the death of the heretic they (the inquisitors) can confiscate the property he held, depriving his heirs of it, although his condemnation may have been prior to his decease." That is, when a man was dead the Inquisition could denounce and condemn him, attain his children, and confiscate the property they had inherited. "And though it be an incontrovertible rule in civil law that with death ends all criminal action, that law is not held valid in causes for heresy, it being so serious a crime; and thus proceedings may be carried on against heretics after they are dead, declaring them as such, to confiscate their property (ad finem confiscandi), and taking it from its owners although it may have passed through many hands, applying it for the benefit of the Holy Office." Did any system ever furnish such facility for the work of sacerdotal thieves?

In 1502 the inquisitors of Teruel, in Spain, proposed to collect even the debts due to confiscated estates; and this although they had guar-

anted to release debtors who contributed to the conviction of heretical creditors.

"The children of heretics," the Manual sets forth, "are incapable of holding or of acquiring any kind of office or rights—a very just thing, because they retain the stigma of infamy of their parents and they are stained with the crime through the parental love. Some authors think that in this penalty are not included the children born before the father incurred the crime of heresy, but there is no solid foundation for such distinction, because this punishment was ordained for the purpose of restraining the parents by the bonds of parental love, and ought to embrace all, since the parents love with equal affection those children who were born before as after the commission of the crime."

With regard to the fate of unrepentant heretics there is no question—it is death at the stake; but, "generally speaking, the repentant heretic ought to be sentenced to perpetual imprisonment." If, however, one reconcile himself with the church before being accused or denounced, or confess his crime although already in prison, or betray his accomplices in heresy, then the rigor of the rule may be relaxed. Nevertheless it is advantageous to condemn the heretic to perpetual imprisonment, and afterwards pardon him if the pressure become too strong. Thereby the Holy Office may gain some credit for mercy, although a virtue has been made of necessity.

As to dungeons, they should not be made too unhealthy, because, should they occasion the death of the prisoner, the inquisitors would incur an "irregularity." Yet many learned doctors have held,

that the inquisitors have the faculties to absolve one another from these irregularities which they have incurred involuntarily, or, as legal cant has it, by an act of God.

The benevolent codifiers of these rules for the guidance of inquisitors frame a few passages on the subject of "relaxation." Relaxation is the surrender of the condemned to the "secular arm," as the civil power is called. Sometimes torture and imprisonment have driven the heretic insane, and as at such a time he might not realize what is being done for his good, it is advised that advantage be taken of a lucid interval to carry him to execution. The obstinate and relapsed heretic (that is to say, one who has fallen back into his error of doubting the beneficence of the Christian faith and the Inquisition), when "relaxed," is to be put in a very insalubrious dungeon, fettered and chained, and placed in the stocks, so that he may not escape and infect the faithful. The inquisitors, up to the time of his execution, are to call frequently and labor for his conversion, doubtless applying such tortures as their ingenuity may suggest, and while warning him that he must die they should impress upon him serious thoughts for the welfare of his soul. The civil power, when it receives the condemned, is besought with earnestness not to shed his blood—a ghastly evasion of the direct request that he be burned at the stake.

In a list of the crimes of which the Holy Office took cognizance are included blasphemers, who "ought to be considered as heretics and punished as such by the inquisitors." They may be good Catholics, but their confiscated estates will go as



far as an Infidel's in replenishing the treasury of the Inquisition. It is intimated that drunkards also ought to be treated as heretics if they swear while drunk, since we may "presume" that they say while in that condition what they think when they are sober. The Holy Office would regard as criminals subject to its jurisdiction those who invoke the devil for any good purpose, such as being their intercessor with God; but it would not be deemed heresy if one should ask of the devil anything properly belonging to him, "as, for example, that he may tempt a woman to commit a carnal sin." The Inquisition would esteem as a heretic and punish accordingly—his property being confiscated and himself imprisoned for life—him who, when the familiars are pursuing a heretic, permits himself to be taken for the fugitive; and this although he may be the truest of Catholics. The same punishment is reserved for those who do not denounce heretics when they know them for such, to wit, wives who do not denounce their husbands for eating meat on Friday, although it may be entertained as an excuse that they fear for their lives should the husbands learn who exposed them. Wives were in hard case; they must risk their lives at their brutal husbands' hands by betraying them, or take the chance of saying nothing and being prosecuted by the Inquisition. They, if anybody, should have realized what a blessing is the Christian religion, how easy its yoke, and how light and pleasing the duties it entails!

Infidels (Mohammedans) and Jews were undoubted subjects for the papal Inquisition, according to Eymerich's Directory, and the familiars



**The Monk and the Nun in their Cell.**  
After an Anonymous Woodcut of the Reformation Period.

must learn to identify them by observation. They would know a man to be a Mohammedan if he washed his mouth after eating, or his hands after going out; also if he washed his arms up to the elbows, his face, his nostrils, his ears, his person; or if he drank no wine, ate no pork, and sang Moorish songs and made zambras, or festivals. The Jew was known by his putting on a clean shirt on Saturday, removing the fat from the meat he was about to eat, killing a fowl or other animal in a peculiar manner, and repeating psalms without the Gloria Patri.

By edicts in 1572 and 1616 the Inquisition put the ban on free trade, and it became equivalent to heresy for any unauthorized person to possess saltpetre, sulphur, or gunpowder, "because it might so happen that these articles may be applied to the service of infidels or heretics to make war against the Catholics."

By this Manual of Inquisitor Eymerich's, approved and expanded by his successors and adopted as a rule of practice by inquisitors everywhere, the holy Catholic tribunal condemns itself out of its own mouth. It could be accused of nothing more infamous than that which it proposes and professes to do, justifying itself by scriptures and papal decrees.



# Stories of the Inquisition.

## THE LITHGOW CASE.

The inquisitors were greedy for victims, and the cases of prisoners in civil jails were canvassed to see if matters of faith were not involved. Few who were thus taken from the secular authorities lived to narrate what befell them afterwards, but we have the story of the Scotch traveler, William Lithgow, who was arrested as an English spy in Malaga, Spain, in 1620. His captors were unable to make good their charges, though they tortured him to extort a confession; but in looking over his books they found some of his own writing in which he had freely expressed his opinion about the Catholic church. The inquisitors visited his prison, and while acknowledging his innocence of the charge of "treachery," told him that it was divine power which had brought him into their hands as a punishment for presumptuously contemning the pope and the miracles of Loretto. They asserted that they had been miraculously enabled to read his books, though printed in a foreign tongue. He found out that this miracle was assisted by a Scotch cooper and a priest educated in an English seminary, both these worthies being in Malaga and employed to turn his writings into

Spanish for the use of the tribunal. The inquisitors evidently belonged to the peripatetic fraternity, the road agents of the system, for there was no local Inquisition at Malaga. The agents took charge of the prisoner, who was conveyed to a "wine-press house" where an improvised torture chamber had been set up. Refusing to recant, Lithgow was sentenced to eleven different tortures, surviving which he was after the Easter holidays to be conveyed to Granada, where there was an Inquisition, and burned alive. The subject proved exceedingly tough, for the tortures did not kill him, though his tormentors expressed the pious fear that they might, and that through his obduracy he would incur the additional guilt of committing suicide instead of saving body and soul by recanting.

These proceedings took place in autumn, and pending the day of the risen Lord, after the celebration of which he was to be burned at Granada, Lithgow remained in prison, where he was kept alive by a Turkish slave who attended his cell and brought him fruit tucked up his shirtsleeve. Otherwise he must have perished, as his jailers probably hoped that he would, for the civil authorities had robbed him before he fell into the priests' hands, and the Granada inquisitors might not thank them for bringing in such lean game.

It seemed extraordinary to the Scotch Calvinist that this slave, who had only the precepts of Mohammed for his instruction, should have such compassion for the adherent of a hostile religion, while those who professed the same religion and worshiped the same Jesus as the prisoner, not only

beheld his sufferings with indifference, but did their worst to aggravate and add to them. It may well have surprised Mr. Lithgow, for in his day toleration or kindness to a person of another faith had not been thought of. As the follower of a man who had himself sent heretics to the stake, he must have been something of a bigot himself. Richard Baxter, who belonged to Lithgow's century, was as bigoted as a Catholic. Religious toleration he called "soul-murder." And, says De Quincey, "if you reminded him that want of this toleration had been his own capital grievance, he replied: 'Ah, but the cases were very different: I was in the right; whereas the vast majority of those who will benefit by this new-fangled toleration are shockingly in the wrong.'" No wonder the conduct of the Mohammedan slave, whose fellow-believers had been driven from Spain by his, seemed most extraordinary to Lithgow. The only other person who showed him any kindness while in prison, and this still more amply than the "Turk," was a negro slave woman, who probably had no religion at all. She gave him each day his daily bread and wine wherewith to wash it down.

These pagans performed a dangerous service, and might have suffered had they been caught, as was proved in other cases. For help rendered Don Alonzo de Mendoza, confined in the Toledo Inquisition on a charge of heresy in 1591, Francisca de Saavedra, the cook, was fined 6,000 maravedis and received a hundred lashes and four years' exile. In Mexico, about 1650, Estaban Domingo, a negro slave employed in the inquisitorial

jail, carried communications between prisoners and their friends outside. He was detected and condemned to two hundred lashes and six years in the galleys.

Lithgow was never sent to Granada for execution. After the governor at Malaga had become convinced of the prisoner's innocence of being an English spy, he would gladly have restored to him his papers, his property, and his liberty, but there was no way of recovering his person from the grasp of the inquisitors. These regrets of the governor, which he communicated to a visitor, were overheard by a third party who carried them to an English agent, or factor, in Malaga of the name of Wild, and this Wild passed the matter along in haste to Sir William Aston, the English ambassador at Madrid. By presenting a memorial to the Spanish king and council an order was procured on the governor of Malaga for Lithgow's release, and it took effect on the eve of Easter Sunday, being therefore just in time to save him from the Granada Inquisition. He was hastily carried on board the Vanguard, one of a squadron of English ships in the roads commanded by Sir Richard Hawkins, and two months later arrived in England. He in time recovered in a measure his health and strength, though he had lost forever the use of his left arm, the bones of which had been crushed by the inquisitors. His majesty of England interested himself in the case, and from the representatives of his majesty of Spain received assurances that the victim's papers, property, and money should be restored to him, together with an indemnity of one thousand pounds

English money as a solace for his sufferings, but he never recovered any part of his effects or any of the promised solace.

### **AN INQUISITORIAL SERAGLIO.**

A remarkable tale is recounted by Anthony Gavin, at one time a Catholic priest and Master of Arts in the University of Saragossa, Aragon, Spain. Falling under suspicion of heterodoxy, he escaped to England and in 1715 apostatized and became a clergyman of the Anglican church. The Saragossa tribunal occupied in Gavin's day the royal castle called Aljaferia, formerly the palace of the king of Aragon, to which the Inquisition was removed by Ferdinand in 1486, after the murder of Chief-Inquisitor Arbues. In 1706, the battle of Almanza having been fought, the Duke of Orleans, commanding the Spanish and French armies, thought it necessary to put a strong garrison there, and turned the inquisitors out. The tribunal took up quarters later in the palace of the Earl of Fuente, to be ejected thence by Monsieur De Legal, a lieutenant-general of the French army. De Legal had levied on the Dominican friars for 1,000 pistoles for the subsistence of the army, and when they declared they had no silver except that in the images of the saints, he said he would take the images, which he did. The friars applied to the inquisitors for the excommunication of De Legal and the recovery of the saints. De Legal received the excommunication politely, and answered it with another ejecting the inquisitors from their quarters and putting troops in their places. Gavin avers that among the four hundred prisoners re-



**Monk and Confession Penitent.**

leased by order of De Legal were "sixty young women, very well dressed, who were, to all human appearance, the number of the inquisitors' seraglio, as some of them did own afterwards."

These women, declares Gavin, gladly followed the army officers as their mistresses, declining the proffered asylum of the resident archbishop for fear of being again placed in confinement. And the officers were well pleased, for the inquisitors, having the power to confine in their chambers whomsoever they chose, had selected no ordinary girls, but "the best and handsomest in the city." An officer named Faulcaut found in her room a young girl whom he so much admired that he sent her home to his parents in France, where Gavin met her when on the way to England. She was then the wife of the officer who had opened her door in the Inquisition building. Her arrest, she told the fugitive priest, came about through some apparently pert answers which she had given the second-inquisitor, Don Francisco Torreon, whom she met while visiting persons of quality in Seville. She was sent for at night, and when her father, who was a counsellor at Ballabriga, learned who were at his door, and what they had come for, he became so frightened that he gagged the girl and pushed her forth like another Lot offering his daughters to the mob. According to her story, as related by Gavin, she was given luxuriously furnished rooms at the Inquisition, with dainty clothes, the best of food, and an attendant to wait upon her. Don Francisco sent her presents and a request that he might visit her. The waiting-maid advised a civil answer as the alterna-

tive would be torture and death. Having been shown certain appliances by which these were inflicted on the obdurate she complied and the reverend father came to her room. The visitor presented himself as both the gallant and the inquisitor offering his love on the one hand and the fate of a heretic on the other. The following night she was conducted to his apartment. On her arising, the waiting-maid dressed her and introduced her to the other women of the seraglio, each one of whom wore the colors of an inquisitor to distinguish her as one who was "in his service." The young women were permitted to amuse themselves with conversation and music and with books containing some "diverting amorous stories," which proved a "great satisfaction" to the prisoners. After a few days these luxuries were withdrawn and she was consigned to a cell occupied by a fellow-unfortunate whose experience had been the same as her own. Thereafter she saw Don Francisco only when he sent for her, but on some nights the door of her cell was left open, indicating that one of the fathers would visit the room. During the eighteen months she remained there a child was born to her and taken away. Half of the young women she had seen on her arrival had disappeared and as many others had arrived. The fate of her child or of her companions she never learned, and she saw no one having communication outside the prison until the young officer who was now her husband opened the door of her cell.

The story reads like some of the tales of the Marquis de Sade, and if true it lends probability



to the belief that his accounts, like those of Boccaccio, were founded in fact and are in a sense historical. The experience which Gavin says the girl related to him is no more incredible than those of others which are verified by the records of the Inquisition, and it is quite as believable that the inquisitors kept women concealed in their fortresses for personal gratification as that they retained other prisoners there to satisfy their criminal propensities of a different sort; of which there is no doubt.

The occupancy of Fort Aljaferia by the troops was temporary; in eight months the inquisitors came back more powerful and bloodthirsty than before. Grand Inquisitor Guerrero at once issued instructions for the arrest and return of all the prisoners delivered by the soldiers, but most of these had taken advantage of the opportunity to leave the country; while the women, as it is stated by Gavin, accepted the protection of the army officers. Guerrero now began a systematic persecution of the priests and friars who had been disaffected toward the king. He imprisoned, we are told, "near three hundred friars and one hundred and fifty priests, and a great number of the laity. Many he banished from Spain. He closed the convent of St. Lucin, banished the nuns, and whipped six of them. While whipping was not an uncommon discipline for nuns, it usually appertained to their shoulders; but Guerrero forced the women to depress their habit and himself either applied or witnessed the castigation.

Two cases exposing the character of this tribunal may be adduced. One Father Pueyo was

confessor to the nuns at St. Munica. The tribunal found that "whereas, Father Pueyo has committed fornication with five spiritual daughters (as the nuns are called who confess habitually to one confessor), which is, besides fornication, sacrilege and transgression of our commands; and he himself having owned to the fact, we therefore decree that he shall keep his cell for three weeks, and lose his employment" (that of confessing the nuns of St. Munica).

Asked if he had anything to say in defense of making mothers of the celibate brides of Christ, the guilty priest made this facetious answer: "Holy Father, I recall that when I was chosen father confessor of the nuns of our Mother St. Munica you set great value upon five young ladies of the monastery, and you sent for me and begged that I would take care of them. I have been a faithful steward, and can say to you: 'Domine quinque talenta tradidisti me, ecce alia quinque super lucratus sum—or, thou deliveredst unto me five talents; behold, I have gained beside them five talents more.'" The jest was applauded by the inquisitors, while the brutal Guerrero laughed outright and declared the priest's answer to be well put. "Therefore," he said, "Peccata tua remittantur tibi; nunc vade in pace and noli amplius peccare—Thy sins are forgiven thee; go in peace and sin no more." It was a pleasant trial. There was the best of feeling all around, and the priest Pueyo was excused from the performance of his penance.

Another affair with a different outcome was the accusation and sentence of Lawrence Castro, a wealthy

goldsmith of Saragossa. Inquisitor Guerrero ordered Castro to deliver to him at the robbers' roost an expensive piece of plate, which Castro did. Before paying him Don Pedro invited the merchant to have a look at the premises and to say what he thought of them. The invitation should have warned Castro, but it appears that it did not, and in company with an attendant he traversed the gloomy corridors of the fortress, where he saw the many iron doors and heard the groans and lamentations of the unfortunate persons behind them. Sickened with horror, he returned to the inquisitor's apartment. Before the impression made by what he had seen could have time to become less vivid, Inquisitor Guerrero asked, "How do you like this place?" and the honest and indignant Castro replied: "I do not like it at all, for it seems to me to be a very hell upon earth." The answer was probably more than the inquisitor had hoped for. He had looked for a hesitancy to say anything in praise of the Holy Office, which would have given him an excuse for so terrifying Castro that he would be glad to get away without waiting for his money; but this was better than he had dreamed. Castro had characterized the Holy Inquisition as "a hell upon earth!" By order of Guerrero the rash goldsmith was immediately thrust into one of the dungeons which he had seen only from the outside, and whose horrors he had only guessed at, while officials of the Inquisition were dispatched to seize upon everything that he owned. Appearing the same day before the Board of Conviction denominated a tribunal, he was condemned to be whipped through

the public streets, to have the letter "H" branded upon his shoulder with a hot iron, and sent to the galleys for life. Castro escaped the extreme penalty by dying from his injuries before nightfall.

## **The Martyrdom of Bruno.**

It was the Inquisition of Venice, in Italy, that brought Giordana Bruno, astronomer, philosopher, and Freethinker, to the stake. Bruno (born in 1548 or 1550) chose the church as what he supposed was the least of three evils, the two others being the law and the army. He found that his choice was the worst he could have made.

In the pursuit of his studies Bruno stumbled against the dogmas of the Trinity, Transubstantiation, and the Virgin Birth. He discussed these subjects with his brother monks of the convent of St. Domenico Maggiore, Naples. Reaching heterodox conclusions, he was proceeded against by the master of the novices. Again, when in full orders, the father provincial fell upon him with accusations of heretical tendencies, and realizing the grave danger of a second process against a relapsed heretic, he fled from Naples and took the road for Rome. Here he learned that the accusation would soon follow him, and made his way to Genoa. He found no place of rest. His wanderings led him to Geneva, the home of Calvinism, where he discovered shortly that Protestantism was as narrow as Romanism. "The two churches," as Bartholmess says, "were governed by the same principle of jurisdiction—the criminality

of heresies. Whoever believed wrongly, that is to say, otherwise than the Holy Office or the Venerable Consistory, believed nothing; and he who believed not committed the crime of treason to God, and deserved capital punishment. Persecution hence became a sacred duty, an act agreeable to God. The greater its intolerance, the greater its value."

The town where Michael Servetus had been burned for heresy was no place for Giordano Bruno, so he moved on. For fifteen years he wandered, lecturing, teaching, supporting himself as a proof-reader at times, and occasionally publishing his writings. He fled from Toulouse in France to escape the fate which later overtook Vanini. His last position abroad was that of lecturer in the Helmstat University, which he quit under excommunication, coming in 1590 to Frankfurt. The following year, a young Venetian named Mocenigo, of noble family but superstitious and of weak intellect, fell in with some of his books. Having dabbled in the "occult," and concluding from his writings that Bruno had in reserve a large amount of esoteric lore, Mocenigo prevailed upon Bruno to come to Venice and instruct him.

With a calamitous want of caution, Bruno returned to the land of his birth and placed himself at the disposal of his pupil, even taking up his abode in Mocenigo's house.

Between the light-hearted Freethinker and the gloomy fanatic there was no common bond. Mocenigo became mistrustful that Bruno's teachings were heretical, and confided his suspicions to a priest, his confessor. The latter advised him to as-

certain Bruno's errors fully, and then denounce him to the Inquisition. To the discredit of humanity, Mocenigo played the spy on the man whose confidence he had gained, and whom he had taken into his own home. The denunciation was formally made by letter May 23, 1592.

A few days prior to this act of treachery on the part of his pupil, the suspicions of Bruno had been aroused by questions put with the obvious purpose of drawing out answers that would convict him of heresy. This determined him to return to Frankfort, and he gave notice to Mocenigo that the engagement between them had terminated. Mocenigo persuaded and threatened; Bruno persisted. Then Mocenigo showed how religion could transform a weak-minded sneak into a blood-thirsty zealot by calling to his aid a band of ruffians and locking his friend and teacher in an attic room. He followed this dastardly act by sending his letter of denunciation to the Inquisition, which immediately responded with an officer, and on the night of May 23 Bruno occupied a dungeon of the Inquisition.

The inquisitors practiced upon the trusting nature of Bruno the policy of pretended kindness that was framed in the subtle mind of the Dominican Eymerich. They treated his assumed errors as though they were accidental, if actual, aberrations from the faith, and by meeting him half-way with concessions drew from him admissions that were fatal. What Bruno admitted was set down; what his judges conceded was not recorded. Accepting their hypocritical blandishments and professions of interest in good faith, he

opened his mind to them as to confidential friends. With a baseness engendered by their creed and calling, they drew him out, even as Mocenigo had done before them, until, by seeming to agree with him, they had learned what he believed. Then the trap was sprung and the frank and candid Free-thinker fell a victim to inquisitorial cunning. He had said enough to hang him.

The world has never heard Bruno's version of the proceedings. The documents preserved in the archives of the Inquisition, written by the clerk or notary of the tribunal, represent that at the end of his second examination, May 30, 1592, he expressed some regret that in his works he had discoursed too much as a philosopher and not enough as a good Christian. On June 3 he told his judges, as they are pleased to let the world know, that he "detested and abhorred all the errors he had committed up to the present time against the Catholic faith, all the heresies he had held and the doubts he had entertained respecting the belief and dogmas of holy church," adding, "I repent of having done, held, said, or believed things not Catholic, or doubted things Catholic, and I implore this sacred tribunal, in pity to my infirmity, to receive me into the church, providing for me remedies useful for my salvation, and to have mercy upon me." The documents offered by the inquisitors as a record of the proceedings state that Bruno made further professions of repentance, and finally fell upon his knees before his judges, humbly asking their pardon and promising reformation if his life were spared.

There are several ways of accounting for these

confessions. They may have been secured in return for a promise of freedom, or they may have been extorted by torture with rack and fire, or they may be spurious. If genuine, and if drawn forth by torture, they reflect no discredit on Bruno. He did not place upon martyrdom any such value as fanatics do, and he had not been deluded by excited preachers into the belief that if he accepted life from the inquisitors in return for apology and confession, he would be damned by his God. He was under no obligation to keep faith with a nest of thieves and robbers like the Inquisition.

What the Venetian Inquisition would have done with Bruno we do not know, for as a personal favor to the pope he was extradited to Rome, where the chief inquisitor, Cardinal Sanseverino, thirsted for his blood. Thus committed to the Inquisition prison of the holy city, we hear no more of him for nearly eight years. What he suffered in that time has to be left to the imagination. How often they stretched him upon the rack, or brought him to the pulley or the fire, in the attempt to change the great Freethinker into that combination of bigotry, hypocrisy, and superstition called a Christian, no historian can say. The pall of silence fell upon those proceedings long ago.

In 1559 Bruno came before a congregation of sixteen cardinals and other church dignitaries, where eight heretical propositions culled from his writings by the infamous Bellarmine were presented to him for recantation. They drew from him only the reply that "he neither ought nor wished to recant."



His last appearance but one before the tribunal took place in December of that year, when in spite of punishment and promises, he steadfastly maintained his views. The tribunal then and there declared him to be "an impenitent and obstinate heretic," to be turned over to the secular arm. As a final act the inquisitors denounced his obstinacy in a long harangue, which he heard unawed, invested him in the heretic's coat, the sanbenito, and imposed the sentence of death. Bruno had maintained a contemptuous silence until now. Then he spoke.

"I expect," he said, "that you are more afraid to pronounce that sentence than I am to receive it."

He was brought forth for the execution of his sentence on Thursday, Feb. 17, 1600, the place of punishment being the Campo di Fiora, a square in front of the pope's residence. The stake had already been erected. To this he was bound. The executioners kindled the fire, while the inquisitors thrust the crucifix before his gaze; he averted his face with an angry glance.

The crowd hooted the martyr then; but to-day the crowd knows who were the infamous, who were the beasts, who were the monumental criminals of their day; they were the pope, the cardinals, and the inquisitors who destroyed the body of the great Freethinker whose mind they could not conquer.

A statue of Bruno, erected by Freethinkers in 1889, stands now on the spot where he was burned in 1600.

## The Persecution of Galileo.

Galilei Galileo, born at Pisa, in Italy, July 15, 1564, became one of the Inquisition's most distinguished victims. Having achieved renown as an astronomer, he in 1611 ventured upon the statement that the Bible was not intended to be a scientific authority. In doing this he committed the same offense that had brought Bruno to the stake. He was summoned to Rome in 1616, tried by the Inquisition, and condemned to abjure his teachings. He assented, but sixteen years later was again arrested, and sentenced to perpetual imprisonment as a relapsed heretic. This is the indictment found against him by the tribunal:

"Whereas, You, Galileo, of Florence, aged seventy, were informed against in the year 1615, in this Holy Office, for maintaining as true a certain false doctrine held by many, namely, that the sun is the centre of the world and immovable, and that the earth moves around it with a daily motion; likewise that you have kept up a correspondence with certain German mathematicians concerning the same; likewise that you have published some letters concerning the solar spots, in which you have explained the same doctrine as true, and that you have answered the objections which in several places were raised against you

from the authority of the Holy Scriptures by construing or glossing over the said scripture according to your own opinions; and finally, whereas the copy of a writing under the form of a letter reported to have been written by you to one who was formerly your scholar, has been shown to us, in which you have followed the hypothesis of Copernicus, which contains certain propositions contrary to the true sense and authority of the Holy Scriptures;

“Now this Holy Tribunal, being desirous to provide against the inconvenience and dangers which this statement may occasion to the detriment of the holy faith, by the commands of the most eminent lords, etc., etc., of the Supreme and Universal Inquisition, have caused the two following propositions concerning the immovability of the sun, and the motion of the earth, to be thus qualified by the divines, viz:

“That the sun is the centre of the world, and immovable, with a local motion, is an absurd proposition, false in philosophy, and absolutely heretical, because it is expressly contrary to the Scriptures.

“That the earth is neither the centre of the world, nor immovable, but that it possesses a daily motion, is likewise an absurd proposition, false in philosophy, and, theologically considered, at least, erroneous in point of faith.

“But as it pleased us in the first instance to proceed kindly with you, it was decreed in the said congregation, held February 25, 1616, that the most eminent Lord Cardinal Bellarmine should command you that you should utterly depart from

the said false doctrine; and in case you should refuse to obey him, that you should be commanded by the Commissary of the Holy Office to abandon the same; and that you should neither teach it to others, defend it, nor say anything concerning it; and that if you should not submit to this order, you should be put in jail."

After five years in the secret prison Galileo died under surveillance in 1642. He had begged to be buried in his family tomb in Santa Croce, but this request was denied by the Inquisition and the pope, in accordance with whose directions he was buried obscurely, apart from his family, without fitting ceremony, monument, or epitaph. His appearance before the Inquisition had affixed a stigma to his name and memory. "It would be an evil example for the world," said Pope Urban, "if such honors were rendered to a man who had been brought before the Roman Inquisition for an opinion so false and erroneous [as that the earth is not the centre of the universe]; who had communicated it to many others, and who had given so great a scandal to Christendom." For an account of the persecution of Galileo and the truths he demonstrated see "The War Between Religion and Science," in this volume.

## The Judicial Murder of Vanini.

Lucilio Vanini, born in Italy in 1585, was one of the Freethinkers of the Italian Renaissance. He wrote about God as the soul of things in an age when men regarded the deity as an exaggerated copy of themselves, and was accused of denying his existence. Like Bruno, Vanini was a monk, and like him he wandered from one country to another, visiting most of the capitals and university towns of Europe. The earliest penalty inflicted on him for his heresies was expulsion from a monastery in his native town. Driven next from France, he spent two years in England, forty-four days of the time in prison for over-zealously defending the Catholic church against the church of England. Later he recanted Romanism; but, always an enemy of intolerance, he fell under censure for reproving the bigotry of the Anglican Protestants. There was in England a Court of High Commission, an Anglican copy of the Roman Inquisition, which took cognizance of any expressed contempt for the reigning church. The Commission put Vanini in the Tower for his unguarded remarks. He drifted from England to Switzerland, and thence once more to France, where he established himself in Toulouse, that divinely favored city where "the people were as ignorant as

wooden images, but had in their possession the dried bodies of several apostles, the bones of many of the infants slain by Herod, part of a dress of the Virgin Mary, and lots of skulls and skeletons of the infallible idiots known as saints."

A charge brought against Vanini by a hostile biographer is that "he pretended to teach medicine; in reality he was a misleader of youth. He made a mockery of sacred things. He blasphemed the incarnation of Christ. He did not acknowledge the existence of God. He attributed everything to chance. He worshiped Nature as the excellent mother and source of all beings. This was the chief of all his errors, and he had the audacity to teach it in Toulouse—that holy city; and as many novelties always have an attraction, especially for the young, he soon collected about him a great number of disciples."

But among these disciples there was a Judas Iscariot in the person of an ignorant and narrow-minded fanatic named De Francon, who played the same part in the martyrdom of Vanini as Mocenigo in the destruction of Bruno. Affecting devotion to his teacher, he contrived every opportunity of drawing him out. Vanini's chief prosecutor was a certain De Catel, secretary of the Toulouse Parliament, and when the force of the defense bade fair to overcome the evidence of ignorance and bigotry and to secure his acquittal, this infamous wretch contrived to change the minds of his fellow judges so that they condemned the accused to a speedy and horrible death.

Among other steps taken by the friends of Vanini to procure his acquittal, they endeavored

to change the accusation from Atheism to heresy, in order to bring him within the jurisdiction of the Inquisition. No stronger testimony than this could be adduced to prove the ferocity of the Toulouse Parliament before whom Vanini was tried. It also shows the weakness of the Holy Office as compared with the Inquisition in Spain, or even that of Italy. Vanini was a monk and a heresiarch like Bruno, who was extradited by the pope from the Venetian tribunal on that very ground. But monk or layman, the Spanish Inquisition would have demanded him of the secular officials for trial before its own judges, and in the event of their refusal to deliver him up would have excommunicated the Parliament of Toulouse and laid an interdict on the city depriving it of religious privileges. But the Toulouse Parliament was an inquisitorial tribunal in all but secrecy, and more than inquisitorial, if that were possible, in its barbarity.

On the evidence of De Francon the spy, and through the machinations of De Catel, the blood-thirsty judge, Vanini was condemned to die on the 9th of February, 1619, nineteen years to a day after the sentencing of Bruno in Rome, and the sentence was executed on the day it was pronounced. The atrocious decree of the bloody-handed tribunal of Toulouse read as follows:

"The court has declared and does declare the said Ucilio attaint and convicted of the crimes of Atheism, blasphemies, impieties, and other crimes manifested by the process, for the punishment and expiation of which it has condemned and does condemn the same Ucilio to be delivered into the

hands of the executioner of justice, who shall draw him upon a hurdle in his shirt, with a halter about his neck, and bearing upon his shoulders a placard with the words **ATHEIST AND BLAS-PHEMER OF THE NAME OF GOD**; he shall thus conduct him before the principal entrance of the Metropolitan Church of St. Stephen, and being there placed on his knees with head and feet naked, holding in his hands a lighted wax torch, he shall ask pardon from God, from the king, and from justice for his said blasphemies; afterwards he shall bring him unto the Place of Salin, and, bound to a stake there erected, he shall cut off his tongue and strangle him, and afterwards his body shall be burnt at the stake-fire there prepared and the ashes thrown to the wind."

This savage sentence, which fixes the debased status of all the pious monsters in human shape who were concerned in passing it, was at once carried out. More than once on his way to the stake the brilliant young Freethinker, the victim of the hate that religion breeds and names holy zeal, uttered in his native tongue the words, "Let us go, let us go joyfully to die, as becomes a philosopher." He refused what are in mockery called the "consolations" of religion, and spurned that emblem of the triumphant beast, the crucifix, held out for his adoration. One shriek of pain he gave as his tongue forced from his mouth with iron instruments, was severed by the executioner's knife, and the rest is silence save for the voice of humanity which with growing volume speaks the condemnation of his church-reared murderers.



# The Persecution of the Jews.

In the very few pages at our disposal here only the merest skeleton sketch can be given of the history of the vindictive pursuit of the countrymen of Jesus by the worshipers of Jesus. And the same remark has equal applicability in the case of the expatriation of the Moors, the prosecution of the Crusades, the burning of "witches," and the other manifestations of Christian love treated further along in this volume. In their admirable work, "Crimes of Christianity," G. W. Foote and J. M. Wheeler have given a very complete yet concise summary (vol. i.) of the crimes of the Popes, the atrocities of the Crusades, and the persecution of the Jews, and from this work we have condensed a large number of facts to get the story within limits of a popular work. Reference is in many instances made to original authorities, and only lack of room prevented many more references being given.

It is to be borne in mind that "the crimes of Christianity are found not only in those public scenes of massacre and torture with which its history is filled, but in the private miseries of outraged feelings and desolated homes." The Christian had hated the Jew from the hour when the latter rejected the preposterous claims made for Jesus, but it was not

until the murderer Constantine made Christianity the state religion of the Roman empire that law-sheltered persecution was possible. Constantine punished any who became converts to Judaism, had Christian churches built where only Jews lived, and those who spoke evil of Christ were to lose half of their estates (Archdeacon Jortin, ii., 206). "If the slave of a Christian became a Christian he remained a slave, but the slave of a Jew had only to become a Christian to claim his freedom." If a Jew married a Christian he became subject to the penalty of death (Lecky, "Ra. in Europe," ii., 15). They were forbidden to approach the site of Jerusalem, and when they gathered to rebuild the city St. Chrysostom says Constantine cut off their ears and dispersed them as slaves in the provinces. Eutychius avers that the emperor obliged them to be baptized and eat pork at Easter. Constantius set fire to their cities in Palestine, and slew men, women, and children. Saint Ambrose denounced the restoration of synagogues burned by Christians, and Theodosius prohibited the building of new synagogues (Codex Theod. lib. xvi., Lit. viii., ix.). Jews could testify only when neither plaintiff nor defendant was a Christian. When Christian mobs in Rome and Ravenna destroyed synagogues and pillaged the Jews and the government ordered restitution "three hundred pulpits" whined about "the persecution of the church." By burning their synagogues and driving them to the wilderness the relics of St. Stephen converted five hundred and forty Jews in eight days (Gibbon, chap. xxviii.). In the fifth century, in Alexandria, the Jews were robbed and expelled;

this happened in many other cities. Justinian was notorious for his persecution of the banned people; virtually, they had the choice of baptism or rebellion. Bishop Avitus, of Clermont-Ferrand, failing to convert the Jews by preaching, their synagogues were destroyed by the Christians (Schaff's "Theol. Ency.," art. Jews). Sisebut, a Gothic king of the Seventh century, compelled the baptism of ninety thousand; the rest were robbed of their property, and their bodies tortured.

The Council of Toledo (633) decreed "that all children of Jews should be taken away from their parents and put into monasteries, or into the hands of religious persons to be instructed in Christianity" (Fleury, "Hist. Ec.," chap. viii.; Jortin, 204). The same council forbade a convert to speak to a Jew; if he did, he became a slave and the Jew was publicly scourged. The twelfth Council of Toledo (681) forbade Jews to abstain from baptism, to observe the Sabbath or any festival of their religion; any person having a Jew in his service must deliver him up at the demand of any priest. "The duty of distinguishing Jews belongs solely to priests" (Lindo, 22, 23). In sixty years eight church councils passed anti-Jewish laws. The fourteenth Council of Toledo ordered the abduction of all Jewish children. The Visigothic Code was relentless in its provisions against the Jews; among other things they shall not "imagine," utter, or by any act publish "their deceitful religion" (Lindo, 28). No Jew could be a witness against a Christian. By a decree of the Council of Paris (615) no Jew in France could bring an action against a Christian unless he had

been baptized. Dagobert (630) banished from the kingdom all disbelievers in Christ. Several councils prescribed what garments they should wear, and they were very generally compelled to sport a badge, front and back, ostensibly for some innocent reason, but really to make them an easy mark for Christian missiles. Often "wholesale robbery and massacre" followed the silly accusation that a Jew had stolen the consecrated wafer and stabbed it (Basnage, book vii., chap. xi.). During the crusades the sufferings of the Jews were exceptionally severe. "At Verdun, Treves, Mentz, Spire, Worms, many thousands of that unhappy people were pillaged and massacred" (Gibbon, chap. lviii.). Milman speaks of "The frightful massacre of this race in all the flourishing cities of Germany and along the Rhine by the soldiers of the cross" (Hist. Lat. Chr'ty, iv., 202). Wherever the Crusaders went through Austria and Hungary they devastated the Jewish settlements and deluged them in blood. The Rhine and the Danube were thick with bodies. Basnage (book vii., chap. vi., sec. 29) records a massacre of twelve thousand in Bavaria. "The Crusades began a long period of oppression, in which murders and bodily tortures were inflicted upon the Jews in every part of Christendom" (C. of C., 149). At the capture of Jerusalem the Jews, men, women, and children, were ruthlessly slaughtered.

After the recapture of Jerusalem by the Saracens, the Jews "were the victims of a fresh outburst of persecution." Everywhere monks incited the mob to murder all "infidels." Death or conversion were the two paths before the Jew. He was also oner-

ously taxed for the expenses of the second and third Crusades. In England, during the preparations for the Holy Land raiding expedition of Richard Coeur de Lion, the Jews of Stamford, Norwich, York, St. Edmonsbury, and other places were massacred. John imprisoned the Jews, regardless of sex or age, and confiscated their property. Stephen Langton, Archbishop of Canterbury, (1215-28) forbade Christians to have communion with Jews or sell them provisions, under pain of excommunication. So the Lateran Council (1215) had decreed. Oppressive edicts, robberies, and massacres followed each other in rapid succession. In 1290 they were expelled from the kingdom, their property and debts being confiscated to the crown. Sixteen thousand were thus banished. "For nearly four centuries from that time no Jew resided in England but at the hazard of his life" (C. of C., 152).

Jews were everywhere forbidden to hold landed property or fill office. "The Jews, indeed, were veritable slaves during the whole time that Christianity was in the ascendant, and Christian kings when they could not deplete the purses of their other subjects, put the Jews to torture until heavy ransoms were paid" (C. of C., 152). Kings and councils released the Christians from their debts to the hated people. In 1182 they were expelled from France, their property, of course, falling into the hands of their enemies. St. Louis (1126-70) twice banished them and as many times recalled them—after they had accumulated some wealth elsewhere, presumably. In 1238-9 the populace robbed and murdered them in Paris and the provinces; in the

latter, more than two thousand were killed (Basnage, book vii., chap. xviii., sec. 6). St. Louis also had the Talmud burnt, and Jewish libraries destroyed. "Twenty-four cartloads of valuable manuscripts were committed to the flames." The Talmud and the libraries were destroyed in other lands and other ages by the Christian ignoramuses. Philip the Fair expelled the Jews in 1306. The Council of Beziers (1246) forbade the employment of Jewish physicians. Pope Gregory XIII. ordered that Jewish physicians who entered the houses of Christians be severely punished and that the sacraments and Christian burial be denied to whoever was treated by such physician.

The Jews were expelled from Vienna (1196), Mecklenburg (1225), Breslau (1226), Frankfort (1241), Brandenburg (1243), Munich (1285). Also from parts of Italy. The shepherds in the South of France rose to help drive the Moors out of Spain, but found it less dangerous to massacre the Jews. Six thousand were slaughtered in the town of Estella alone (Basnage, book vii., chap. xvi., sec. 6). In clear sanction of the wholesale massacres going on in France, Pope John XXII. commanded the bishops to destroy Talmuds wherever found. In many provinces "the Jews were burned without distinction. At Chinon a deep ditch was dug, an enormous pile raised, and one hundred and sixty of both sexes burned together" (Milman, "Hist. of the Jews," 548). During the prevalence of the Black Death, the Jews were accused of bringing on the disaster by their dark arts. Hecker ("Epidemics of the Middle Ages") says that "throughout all Germany few places can be mentioned where



**Plundering Jewish Quarters at Frankfurt-on-Main in 1614.**

After a Copperplate Engraving, by Hans Merian.

they were not regarded as outlaws, and martyred and burnt." In Basle a wooden building was constructed, all the Jews in the city driven into it, and burned. No trial, of course. Not long after the same thing was done at Freyburg (39, 40, ed. of 1859). At Frankfort all were put to death (Basnage). All were burnt at Ulm (ibid. 686). At Mayence twelve thousand perished (Hecker 41). There was wholesale massacre at Spires. At Strasburg two thousand were burnt in their own burial ground (ibid., 40-41). For four hundred years scarcely a Jew was permitted in Strasburg after nightfall.

In 1390 they were expelled from Nuremberg; the next year from Prague. A terrible outbreak occurred in Brussels, because, as was alleged, a Jew had stolen a piece of dough, called the consecrated host, and the Jews blasphemed about it. They were tortured and burnt, all the Jews in the city. In France the persecution took fresh life near the end of the fourteenth century, and the Jews were banished for centuries. In Spain the Jews were long defended by the kings against the fierce hatred of the priests, but their day of doom was to come. When Bertrand du Guesclin entered Spain to dethrone Pedro the Cruel the order was: "Kill all [Jews and Moors] like sheep and oxen, unless they accept baptism" (Milman, 565). Incited by Archdeacon Martinez, in 1391 the Christian mob in Seville fell on the Jews and murdered four thousand. Three months later as many more were slaughtered, and others sold into slavery. Other towns followed the example, until fifty thousand were killed. Jews could not become vintners, apoth-



ecaries, grocers, or taverners. When Ferdinand and Isabella came to the consolidated thrones of Arragon and Castile and Torquemada established the Holy Office, the sufferings of the Jews greatly increased. Of the victims of the Inquisition, Southey says (*"Vindicae Ecclesiae Anglicanae,"* 419), "the greater part suffered upon the charge of Judaism; it is within the mark to say nineteen out of twenty." Converted Hebrews were forbidden to give Hebrew names to their children, while by a law of Henry II. they could not give them Christian names. On March 30, 1492, Ferdinand and Isabella signed the edict for the expulsion of the Jews. They could sell their property, but could take away neither gold nor silver. Of course they were beggared, for who would pay for that which they could get for nothing? Probably three hundred thousand were expelled. The atrocities connected with the deportation are heart-rending. Overloaded ships sank, others were burned, the exiles were left naked on barren shores, others were met (as at Genoa) by priests with the alternative of baptism or starvation. Some stopping in Portugal had their children seized and transported to St. Thomas. When Don Emanuel came to the Portuguese throne Ferdinand and Isabella insisted upon the banishment of all Jews and Mohammedans as the price of the hand of their daughter. By proclamation issued in 1496 all non-converted Jews were banished and their property confiscated. Then their children under fourteen were seized to be brought up as Christians. Later all children under twenty were included. Treachery to the Jews marked every step of the proceedings.

They were imprisoned and starved to induce them to be baptized, and finally were baptized by force. Ten years later some of these forced converts were detected celebrating the Passover. Then followed a massacre of three thousand.

The Jews were expelled from Naples and Sicily in 1504. In Italy they suffered terribly under some of the popes. Others of the popes saw they were financially useful, and were less vindictive. They were by Eugenius IV. forbidden to eat and drink with Christians, and shut out of the professions. Their libraries were destroyed. They were forced to wear badges, to abjure their religion, were taxed for the support of their apostate brethren. Pius V. expelled them from all his dominions except Rome and Ancona, where they could be utilized by the Holy See.

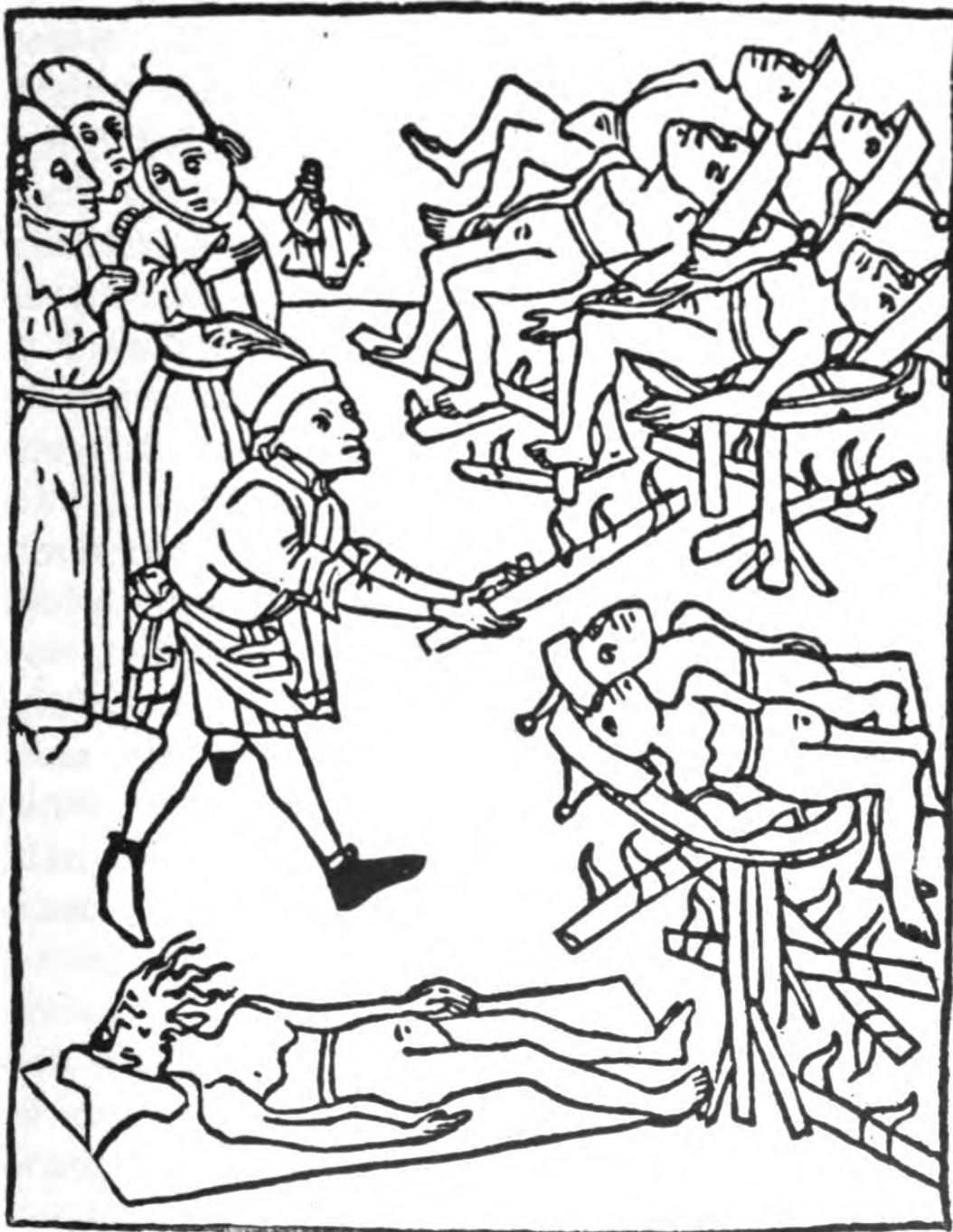
Under Protestantism the Jews continued to suffer persecution. Luther was bitter against them, advocating the destruction of their synagogues, the Talmud, and their prayer-books, and the silencing of their rabbis. McClintock and Strong's Cyclopedia says: "It is a fact that all through Germany, where the Protestant element, if anywhere, was strong in those days, their lot actually became harder than it had ever been before." German theologians wanted all Hebrew literature destroyed, (except the Old Testament) and the University of Paris sanctioned the proposed vandalism, which was prevented only by the opposition of Reuchlin. The Jews were banished from Bavaria in 1533, from Brandenburg in 1573. They were driven out of Vienna in 1699. "At Prague a crucifix was erected on the bridge dividing the two cities, to which they

were compelled to render homage every time they passed" (C. of C., 169). The naturalization of the Jews was proposed in England in the eighteenth century, but was fiercely antagonized by the dominating churchmen. A naturalization bill passed in 1753 was repealed the next year, owing to popular Christian opposition. "The municipal disabilities of the Jews were removed in 1846; the parliamentary disabilities were not removed until 1860. . . . Ten times the Liberal party in the House of Commons carried an Emancipation bill, but each time it was thrown out by the Lords, including the spiritual peers who represented the church" (C. of C., 170). In 1825 the pope dug up the old laws against the Jews and put them in force. In 1858 the Inquisition abducted a seven-year-old Jewish boy, claiming that he had been baptized by a servant girl, and therefore belonged to the church. The parents could not recover him, the priests telling them they could get him again if they would become Christians. Elizabeth of Russia drove thirty-five thousand out of that country, and in 1882 began in Russia a persecution of the Jews that rivaled some of the savage hunts of the earlier centuries. In Roumania they have likewise experienced Christian love, while at the present time in Germany, Austria, and other parts of Europe the "Jew hunt" is still popular, and anti-Jewish missionaries even come to the United States to stir up hatred against the race to which the man-god they worship unfortunately belonged.

## The Expulsion of the Moors.

Following the expulsion of the Jews from Spain came the banishment of the Moors. The same remorseless bigotry, perfidy, and cruelty characterized the last as had characterized the first. The Moors had been in Spain since the eighth century. They had given that country its most brilliant period of mental and industrial development. They had not persecuted the Christians. But their power, through internal dissensions, and the ascendancy of the orthodox party, thus checking intellectual growth, had been weakened and their dominions gradually passed into the hands of the Christians. Their rule came to an end with the surrender of Granada in 1492. "No faith was kept with the victims. Granada had surrendered under the solemn guarantee of the full enjoyment of civil and religious liberty. At the instigation of Cardinal Ximenes that pledge was broken" (Draper, "Conflict," 148). "The atrocious cruelty with which these poor people were treated after every solemn promise had been broken by the Catholic party is a grievous blot on the memory of Ferdinand and of his successors" (Johnson's Cyclopedia, art. "Moors"). "A pragmatica was issued at Seville, February, 1502, setting forth the obligations of the Castilians to drive the enemies of God from the land, and ordering

that all unbaptized Moors in the kingdoms of Castile and Leon above the age of infancy should leave the country by the end of April" (Draper, "Conflict," 147). Some were tortured, some burnt, all terrorized. After 1526 no Mohammedans were left in Spain who had not been "converted" to "Christianity." "Immense numbers of them were baptized by force; but being baptized, it was held that they belonged to the church, and were amenable to her discipline. That discipline was administered by the Inquisition, which, during the rest of the sixteenth century, subjected these New Christians, or Moriscoes, as they were now called, to the most barbarous treatment. The genuineness of their forced conversion was doubted; it therefore became the business of the church to inquire into their sincerity" (Buckle, "Hist. Civilization," ii., 43). Philip II., in 1566, ordered "the Moriscoes to abandon everything which, by the slightest possibility, could remind them of their former religion. They were commanded, under severe penalties, to learn Spanish, and to give up all their Arabic books. They were forbidden to read their native language, or to write it, or even to speak it in their own houses. Their ceremonies and their very games were strictly prohibited. They were to indulge in no amusements that had been practiced by their fathers; neither were they to wear such clothes as they had been accustomed to. Their women were to go unveiled; and as bathing was a heathenish custom, all public baths were to be destroyed, and even all baths in private houses" (ibid., 44). These and other op-



### **Torture of Jews on Wheel.**

**They have their Jewish Hats on to show they are Jews. A**  
**Woodcut of the year 1475.**

pressions drove them to revolt. They were crushed, and the rest of exhaustion followed. Philip III. came to the throne. The clergy had gained great power. They wanted more drastic measures taken against the Moriscoes. The Archbishop of Valencia demanded that the Moriscoes be all banished, save such as should be kept in slavery. All Spain's troubles, he said, came from tolerating heresy. But he thought children under seven might be spared, as harmless to Christ. The Archbishop of Toledo protested vehemently; Christian blood must not run the risk of defilement; sooner than that, kill all. And a powerful church party demanded that all be slaughtered, Bleda, the Dominican, at the head. Philip signed the edict of expulsion, which was executed with "unflinching barbarity. About one million of the most industrious inhabitants of Spain were hunted out like wild beasts, because the sincerity of their religious opinions was doubtful. Many were slain as they approached the coast; others were beaten and plundered, and the majority, in the most wretched plight, sailed for Africa" (ibid., 49). There is no authentic information regarding the total number who perished, but of one expedition of 140,000, only 40,000 escaped death in its most hideous forms.

## About the Popes and the Inquisition.

The record, as a whole, of the Bishops of Rome and the Popes is not one of which the Catholic church should be proud, nor is it one which it can erase. And all Christianity must share in the disgrace, for through Rome come the legends that, collected into the Bible, furnish all the evidence there is—scanty and doubtful at the most—for the existence of the man Jesus, the keystone of the arch of Christianity.

It matters not whether Peter established himself at Rome and thus laid the foundations of the papacy; the historical fact is that for many centuries Rome possessed no primacy, actually: the bishops of the early church were fierce and unscrupulous rivals, quarreling incessantly. Rome aspired to govern long before she did govern. Constantinople, Jerusalem, Carthage, Alexandria, all flouted the pretensions to supreme rule of the bishops of Rome, which had been first asserted at the Council of Sardica in 343. The rival bishops mutually excommunicated each other, occasionally varying the performance by a free rough and tumble fight, in one of which Flavianus was kicked to death (Council of Ephesus, 499). Gelasius I. (492-496) asserted in a Council at Rome the primacy "of the eternal city as founded on Christ's



remark to Peter, and proclaimed that the Pope's authority was higher than that of kings and emperors" (C. of C., 106). To the emperor he said: "There are two powers which rule the world, the imperial and pontifical. You are the sovereign of the human race, but you bow your neck to those who preside over things divine. The priesthood is the greater of the two powers; it has to render an account in the last day for the acts of kings" (Draper). Referring to "pontifical," the first bishop of Rome to take the pagan title of "Pontiff" was Damasus (366-84). "Parallel with these growing pretensions increased that system of denying or falsifying historical facts which was to minister to the glorification of Rome and the power of her bishops. The decrees of the first Council of Nicae were interpolated. The story was fabricated of the conversion and baptism of Constantine by Sylvester, and forged writings, like the 'Constitutum Sylvestri,' the 'Gesta Liberii,' and others, were circulated in order to prove the inviolable supremacy of the See of Rome" (Prof. Heinrich Geffcken, *Church and State*, i., 148, E. F. Taylor's Translation, 1877). Rome early engaged in the suppression of the "heresies" which were tolerated in other parts of the empire. Auricular confession was introduced, thus giving the priesthood the possession of domestic secrets, a most powerful lever. Gregory the First stoutly denounced the patriarch of Constantinople for taking the title of universal bishop, but in the next century his own successors took it for the Roman bishops. Emperor Maurice and his five sons were savagely murdered by Phocas and the throne of Constantinople usurped. This delighted

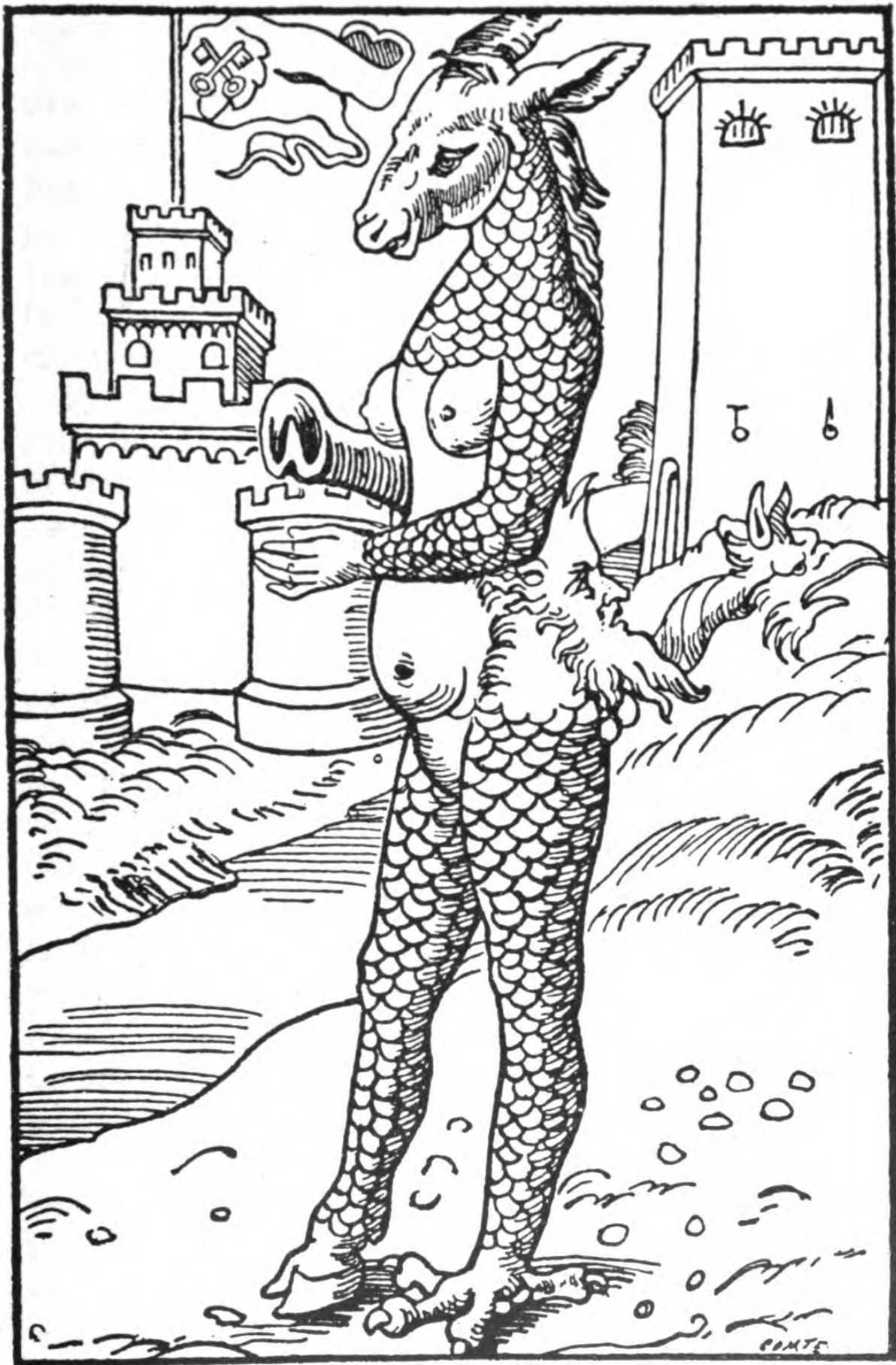
Gregory, for Maurice had sustained the claims of the patriarch. Phocas apparently had no virtues, but Gregory had his statue carried through Rome in triumph, and sent him a letter congratulating him on his success. The sequel came quickly. The patriarch having enraged Phocas "by not delivering the murdered emperor's wife and daughters to his cruelty, he acceded to the request of Pope Boniface the Third and decreed (606) the Romish See as head of all the churches" (C. of C., 110). Rome asserted the power of excommunication; later, that of interdict. These assumptions greatly strengthened her, for it was a time of gross ignorance and unfathomable superstition, and hence spiritual penalties were more dreaded than the most cruel temporal punishments. The mightiest emperors were weak as peasants in the face of an interdict; their subjects fell away from them as though they were lepers. The immunity of priests from secular penalties gave the church another immense accession of power. Said Pope Nicholas to the Bulgarians: "You who are laymen ought not to judge either priest or clerk; they must be left to the judgment of their prelates."

The Emperor Leo, the Isaurian, learning from the Mohammedans, forbade image worship. Then "Pope Gregory the Second absolved the people from their allegiance. Civil wars resulted. For a hundred and fifty years the church was torn with dissensions over this subject, image worship winning in the end. Pepin and Charlemagne gave to the Popes the territory of the conquered Lombards, thus making the bishops of Rome temporal princes. This fired their ambition anew and they aspired to

universal dominion. "In order to efface the recollection of the gift [they] forged the story that Constantine the Great had given Rome and Italy to Pope Sylvester, and that this was the reason why the seat of empire had been removed to Constantinople. The papal claims were also supported by the forged Decretals" (C. of C., 114). The popes constantly strove to emancipate themselves from the last bonds of allegiance to the civil powers. During the first half of the tenth century the papacy sank very low, both in influence and in morals. "Six popes were deposed, two murdered, one mutilated" (Hallam, "Middle Ages," ii., 171). There were many rival popes. During 1045 Sylvester III., Benedict IX., and Gregory VI. fought for supremacy in authority and primacy in vice. Then came Hildebrand (Gregory VII., 1073-85), who made the papacy supreme. He was the power behind the throne during five pontificates before he wore the tiara himself. He fought against the bestowal of benefices by the civil powers, and at the same time claimed for the popes the right to crown and uncrown kings. He forced the clergy to disown their wives and repudiate their children. The crime was a monstrous one, entailing suffering incalculable. It convulsed the church and the nations. But celibacy was established. The purpose was to make the interests of the church the one object in life of the ecclesiastic. Henry IV. of Germany espoused the cause of the German opponents of Hildebrand's cruel edict of divorcement, but the pope drew the sword of the interdict and the emperor was forced to his knees. A conflict which cost two million lives was one of the fruits

of Hildebrand's action. In the second sentence of excommunication leveled at Henry, Hildebrand declared that the papacy had the power "to take away empires, princedoms, marquisades, duchies, countships, and the possessions of all men" (Jas. Bryce, "The Holy Roman Empire," 161). Pope Boniface VIII. affirmed in a bull issued in 1302 that "for every human creature it is a condition of salvation to submit to the Roman pontiff."

Of the crimes of the popes only the most meager account can be given in these few pages. St. Damasus (366-84) was opposed for election by Ursicinus. After several bloody encounters, the latter was banished. The people interfered and put some of his followers in a church for safety. Here they were attacked with fire and sword by Damasus and his lay and clerical adherents and one hundred and sixty slaughtered (Riddle, "Hist. of the Papacy," i., 143). As this non-resistant saint died of fever, pious Catholics invoke his aid in fever cases (G. A. F. Wilks, "The Popes," 20). To St. Leo the Great (440-61) Jortin refers (ii., 425), as "the insolent and persecuting Pope Leo, who applauded the massacre of the Priscillianists, and grossly misrepresented them." The election of Symmachus (498-514) led to much savage fighting, in which no respect was paid to rank, dignity, nor sex. Symmachus was accused of most heinous crimes. St. Hormisdas (514-23) urged the emperor to persecute heretics. Boniface II. (530-32) excommunicated his dead competitor, Dioscorus. Silverius (536-38) was expelled from his see on the charge of having betrayed the city of Rome to the Goths. Vigilius (537-55) was elected by bribery. Anasta-



**The Pope-Ass.**

**Caricature of the Middle Age Papacy. A Flyleaf from the  
Reformation Times.**

sus says he killed his secretary in a fit of passion, and had his sister's son whipped to death. Pelagius (555-60) incited the government to the persecution of heretics. St. Gregory the Great (590-604) prohibited the study of the classics, defaced statues, and was an unscrupulous miracle-monger and vindictive bigot. See immediately preceding pages for his connection with the murderer Phocas. Sabinian (604-6) was avaricious, and cruel to the poor. He "cornered" the breadstuffs "in sight" during an awful famine, and raised the price to an extortionate figure (C. of C., 125). Theodorus (642-49) started the fit custom of dipping the pen in consecrated wine when signing the death warrant of heretics (Jortin, iii., 56). St. Sergius I. (687-701) purchased his seat by pawning the ornaments of the tomb of St. Peter. Accused of adultery, his innocence was established when the child in question being baptized when eight days old, cried out, "The pontiff Sergius is not my father." Constantine (708-15) induced the emperor, Justinian II., to cut out the tongue and blind the eyes of the Archbishop of Ravenna, for the latter's failure to obey the pope. St. Gregory II. (715-31) endowed monasteries with the property of the poor. To preserve image worship he plunged Italy into war. Approved the murder of the emperor (Bower, ii., 63, 65). Stephen III. (768-72) put out the eyes of a lay pope whom he displaced on the papal throne, serving many of the latter's friends in the same way (La Chatre "Historie des Papes," i., 350). St. Pascal I. (817-24) tore out the tongues and eyes of and then beheaded two venerable priests who had exposed his vices. Eugenius II.

(824-27) invented the inhuman ordeal by cold water. Adrian II. (867-72) felicitated Bazilius, the murderer of the emperor Michael, and formed an alliance with him (H. Foulis, 134). John VIII. (872-82) had the throats of the leading Saracens of Naples cut in the presence of his legate (Bower, ii., 292). He justified Athanasius, Bishop of Naples, for tearing out the eyes of Sergius, Duke of Naples, because the Duke defended the Saracens. Formosus (891-96) invited Emperor Arnulf of Germany to overrun Italy, and appalling atrocities were committed. Sergius III. (904-11) is declared by Baroni-  
us to have been "the slave of every vice and the most wicked of men" (Bower, ii., 306). Leo V., Christopher, John X., Leo VI., Stephen VIII., and John XI. were famous chiefly for adultery and assassination (C. of C., 128-29). John XII. (956-64) seems to have run the whole gamut of vices and crimes. Rape, simony, abominable mutilation, were some of his offenses. Emasculation of their rivals, cutting out eyes, and similar barbarities, were the favorite diversions of a number of the popes. Boniface VII. (974) procured the murder of his predecessor Benedict, "plundered the Basilica and escaped with the spoils to Constantinople, whence he afterwards returned and murdered John XIV." (C. of C., 130). Gregory V. (996-99) had the eyes of Antipope John pierced, his nose cut off, and his tongue torn out (La Chatre, i., 570). Benedict VIII. (1012-24) "saved the city of Rome from a great storm, which it seems was caused by some Jews. The Jews being immediately executed, the storm ceased"! (C. of C., 130).

John XIX. (1024-33) bought his way into the

papacy. He had to leave the city to save his life, so great was his tyranny, and so onerous were his exactions. Benedict IX. (1033-46) to get possession of the person of a cousin sold the papacy. Subsequently he poisoned Damasus II. "A most flagitious man, and capable of every crime" (Mosheim, ii., 328). Gregory VII. (1073-85) brought untold suffering upon the people of Europe by the establishment of clerical celibacy, and through his ambitious projects for the extension and consolidation of the power of the papacy. Pascal II. (1099-1118), following in the footsteps of Gregory, deluged Europe in blood in the attempt to make kings and emperors the still more servile puppets of the pope. Adrain IV. had Arnold of Brescia burned alive for preaching against papal corruption. He sold Ireland to Henry II. of England, on condition that the people be kept the spiritual slaves of Rome and pay annually one penny per house to the pope. Alexander III. (1159-81) ordered a crusade against all heretics, in conformity with the decree of the Lateran Council promulgated in 1179 (Mosheim, ii., 455). Clement III. (1188-91) ordered the third Crusade against the Mohammedans (1189) Innocent III. (1198-1216) instigated the fourth Crusade, which was directed against the Christians of the East. When the English barons forced King John to grant the act of Magna Charta, Innocent interfered, absolved John from his obligation to observe the concessions he had made, and laid England under an interdict, passing sentence of excommunication upon all who should obey or try to enforce the act. He provided John with a large foreign army and set him to intimidating,



robbing, and murdering his own people. He meddled in the internal affairs of Germany, France, and other countries, but his crowning infamy was the merciless crusade he instigated against the Albigenses of Southern France, some particulars regarding which will be found in subsequent pages under this head.

Gregory IX. (1227-41) "formally established the Inquisition, . . . raised taxes in France, England, and Germany, excommunicated kings, and incited nations to revolt" (C. of C., 133). Innocent IV. (1243-54) excommunicated Frederick of Germany and organized a conspiracy to secure his assassination, which happily miscarried; he plunged Germany and Italy into frightful war; made awful mischief in Spain and Portugal; after the death of Frederick by disease, Innocent organized a crusade against his successor, Conrad, granting indulgences to all who would take up arms, and to their children, so that they might commit all crimes with impunity. At last, after years of desolating war, Innocent, by offering Mainfroy the imperial crown, induced him to poison his brother Conrad. Boniface VIII. (1294-1303) imprisoned his predecessor, Celestine, who died in durance, it is asserted of starvation. He persecuted the Ghibellines, offered indulgences and pay to whoever would murder Philip the Handsome of France, and, as the popes were in the habit of doing, filled Europe with hate and war. Clement V. (1305-14) cruelly suppressed the order of the Knights Templar, burning alive the master and many of the leading members. Of course he appropriated the property of the order. He preached a new cru-

sade against the Turks, prodigally granting indulgences.

John XXII. (1316-43) accumulated enormous wealth in the papal treasury by the public sale of indulgences for the commission of all crimes and the gratification of all desires, by the confiscation of the property of alleged heretics, and even by the robbery of prelates and monasteries. The Fratricellists, or Poor Brothers, were anathematized, their wealth seized, and their persons given to the Inquisition. The alchemists were also handed over to the Inquisition. Civil war was fomented, a conspiracy was formed for the assassination of Louis of Bavaria, and John formulated the most infamous code for the sale of indulgences. He caused more than a thousand heretics to be burnt. Urban VI. (1378-89) in his conflict with the rival pope, Clement VII., flooded Europe with gore, and tortured his captured enemies most fiendishly. Rape and pillage, incendiarism and murder were everywhere. Peasants, men and women, were slaughtered by wholesale. He personally superintended the torture and slow murder of many of his victims. He shut wolves into the cell of one cardinal; buried another to his neck in quicklime, and sewed others of the unfortunates in bags with serpents and cast them into the sea. John XXIII. (deposed 1415) was found guilty by the Council of Constance of murder and incest. His secretary describes him as a monster of avarice, ambition, outrage and cruelty (Wilks, 158). He was a pirate, poisoned Pope Alexander V. to get the papal chair, poisoned the physician he had employed to kill Alexander, extorted money by torture, poisoned

King Ladislaus, outraged hundreds of nuns, and cruelly tortured the victims of his hate. Martin V. (1417-31) was treacherous, bloodthirsty, and cruel. The Council of Constance having burned John Huss in 1415 and Jerome of Prague in 1416, Martin, elected pope to succeed John XXIII., deposed, resolved to terrify the weaker minds in the Council by a magnificent auto-da-fe, the victims of which were several disciples of Huss. Of course he stirred up wars in various countries. He procured the poisoning of the rival pope, Benedict XIII. He started a crusade against the followers of Huss and Jerome in Bohemia, laying the kingdom under an interdict and ordering the extermination of all Hussites. To his legate in Germany he wrote: "Strike with the sword, and when your arm cannot reach the guilty, employ poison." To Wladislav of Poland: "Turn your forces against Bohemia; burn, massacre, make deserts everywhere." To the Duke of Lithuania: "Be assured thou sinnest mortally in keeping faith with heretics." Eugenius IV. (1431-47) tortured the treasurer of Martin, his predecessor, stole Martin's money, and hurried to the scaffold two hundred of his friends, citizens of Rome (Wilks, 161).

Paul II. (1464-71) broke all the oaths he had made to the College of Cardinals, instigated the assassination of Alphonso of Castile, horribly tortured the historian Platinus and other learned men, many of whom died on the rack; persecuted the Fratricelli, was guilty of great perfidity and cruelty toward the Count of Anguillara, and did his worst to tax Europe dry. In addition to all this he incited to war in Italy, Spain, Poland, France, and

Bohemia, and excommunicated the king of the last-named nation for his protection of the Hussites. Sixtus IV. (1471-84) robbed people right and left. "Fictitious dearths were created; the value of wheat was raised to famine prices; good grain was sold out of the kingdom, and bad imported in exchange, while Sixtus forced his subjects to purchase from his stores" (Symonds, i., 328). He fiercely persecuted the Colonnas, and he added to his wealth by tribute from a bagnio which he erected in Rome (Ranke, iii., 384). Innocent VIII. (1484-92) "obtained the votes of the cardinals by bribery, and violated all his promises" (Wilks, 169). He persecuted the Germans on the charge of magic, and nearly exterminated the Hussites (Schlegel, in notes on Mosheim, iii., 31). He sold offices and was a broker in celestial and earthly pardons. Alexander VI. (1492-1503) was the infamous Roderic Borgia, father of the still more murderous Cesar Borgia and of Lucretia Borgia. Before he was a brigand pope he was a brigand soldier. He bought his place in the papal chair, and henceforward devoted himself to the aggrandizement of his family and the slaughter of his enemies. He caused the burning alive of Savonarola. Human life was nothing to him. Alexander's death was caused by the accidental drinking of poison he had prepared for a cardinal, whose property would have reverted to the Holy See in the event of his death. Julius II. (1503-13) obtained the tiara by fraud and bribery. While he lived he did not cease to embroil Europe in war (Mosheim, iii., 84). Innocent X. (1644-55) ruined the nephews of his predecessor, Urban, to whom he owed his election.

He malignantly pursued them, "in violation of the most solemn treaties." Like many other popes, he declared that no faith was to be kept with heretics.

The popes worked largely through the inquisitions—inquisitions, for there were several. It is often claimed that especially in the case of the Spanish Inquisition many of the popes protested against the terrible barbarity of the inquisitors, but we are compelled to regard these protests as largely formal, like the request of the Inquisition itself when it handed its victims over to the state and asked that their lives be spared. This request was nothing but the cruelest of mockeries. Had the popes really desired to mitigate or suppress the abominations of the Inquisition they could have effectively employed the terrors of excommunication and interdict, as they did not hesitate to do when kings and princes declined to be as cruel as the popes or the inquisitors' demanded, as is shown in preceding pages.

## The Waldenses.

The Waldenses took their name from one Waldus, a rich citizen of Lyons, who, about 1170, gave away his property and founded a society for preaching among the people. "The Poor Men of Lyons," they called themselves. The Archbishop of Lyons ordered them to stop preaching. They appealed to the Third Lateran Council (1179) which treated them with contempt. Lucius III. put them under the ban (1184). Until this time, they had not opposed the doctrine, worship, or constitution of the Catholic church. The ecclesiastical authorities did not object to the substance of their deliverances, but to their preaching without official sanction. Innocent III. saw the mistake of his predecessors, and sought to organize them into a body of lay monks. But the church had herself severed the bonds that held them to her and it was now too late for the overtures of Innocent. So he renewed the ban against them at the Fourth Lateran Council, in 1215. They spread over Northern Italy, the south of France, into Eastern Spain, Southern Germany, and the Netherlands and England. They encountered persecution on every hand. The Spanish Inquisition burned thousands of them at the stake. Those in Provence and Dauphine in France were crushed in 1545, and in 1561 they were driven

out of Southern Italy, but in Piedmont they have withstood many cruel floods of persecution to the present time. The war against them lasted from the beginning of the Fifteenth century to 1477. In that year Innocent VIII. "organized an exterminating crusade from Savoy and France which slaughtered 18,000 men" (Kurtz, "Church Hist.," ii., 133-34). Similar in fundamental principles were the "Pauperes Spiritu" and "Humiliati" of Lombardy, and after they received some of the views of Arnold of Brescia "they became estranged from the Catholic church and were brought into friendly relations with the French Waldensians" (ibid., 136). From Passau they spread as far as northern Germany. They were constantly pursued by the Inquisition, and thousands were brought to the stake. When the Reformation came the Waldensians went rapidly into the Protestant camp, and this let loose upon them again the bloody-fanged dogs of persecution. In the crushing out process in Provence and Dauphine, already adverted to, four thousand were murdered, and twenty-two districts swept by fire. Rome sent the grand inquisitor, Alexandrina, with Dominican henchmen, into the Waldensian colonies in Calabria, and the most awful atrocities were committed. In 1561 the prosperous churches were torn out by the roots, the men who escaped the stake were sent to the Spanish galleys, and the women and children sold into slavery. In Piedmont they successfully resisted their enemies; nearly a century later (1654) the Duke of Savoy confirmed their privileges. But in a few months they were again set upon by a Piedmontese army, reinforced by a horde of released prisoners and Irish refugees,

the latter driven out of Ireland by Cromwell's severities. It is the usual story of horrible cruelties; the Inquisition had not forgotten its cunning, nor a savage, fanatical soldiery its instinct for rape and mutilation. But with the intervention of the Protestant Swiss cantons and the assistance of Cromwell the Waldensians held their ground. The persecution and civil war broke out again in 1685 at the instigation of Louis XIV., but, with the support of the Swiss, the outraged people, after many vicissitudes of fortune, retained possession of their country (*ibid.*, iii., 6). Samuel Morland, who was the English ambassador to Savoy, tells, as an eye-witness, of the horrors of the massacre of the Waldensians. The heads and breasts of the teachers were cut off, boiled, and eaten; to the most tender parts of some fire was applied; women were cut open with flints; limbs were broken and exposed to fires; nails were pulled out with pincers; men half-dead were tied to the tails of horses and dragged over the sharp rocks; young women were impaled by the most sensitive parts and carried about as standards; into the mouths of living men were thrust their dissevered parts; men and women were thrown over precipices and catching, yet alive, in the limbs of trees, perished slowly of hunger, thirst, and their wounds; infants were snatched from cradles and torn in pieces by the naked hands of the mad Catholics; young girls were roasted alive, and their breasts cut off and eaten before they were dead; from other victims the ears, nose, and other parts were cut; the mouths of men were filled with gunpowder and fire applied; other men were flayed alive; brains were beaten out, roasted,



and eaten; men were consumed at the stake, drowned, had their hearts cut out, their faces disfigured, their bodies cut into hundreds of pieces. At Garigliano an oven was heated and eleven of the Vaudois were forced to throw one another into it, and the last was thrown in by their fiendish fellow-Christians.

This is one faintly-drawn picture of the doings of the disciples of the preacher of universal love. What was done in this instance was done in thousands of others, often with far greater slaughter, and what was done in the valley of the Vaudois by soldiers and the pious populace was done for centuries with all the deliberation of judicial methods by the relentless Inquisitors of Rome.

## The Albigenses.

The crusade set in motion in the early years of the thirteenth century by Innocent III., against the sectarists of Southern France, lasted twenty years and was characterized by all the enormities of religious animosity and mercilessness. As the sectarists resided mainly in the district of Albigeois they have come to be known as Albigenses or Albigensians. Of the Albigensian heresy and its destruction, Draper says ("Int. Dev. Eu.," ii., 147): "She [the Catholic church] did not crush it—that would have been too indulgent; she absolutely annihilated it. Awake to what must necessarily ensue from the imperceptible spread of such opinions, she remorselessly consumed its birth-place with fire and sword; and, fearful that some fugitives might have escaped her vigilant eye, or that heresy might go wherever a bale of goods might be conveyed, she organized the Inquisition, with its troops of familiars and spies. Six hundred years have elapsed since these events, and the south of France has never recovered from the blow." The Inquisition mentioned here was the Papal Legantine Inquisition, under Dominic himself. Councils had condemned the sectaries in 1165, 1176, 1178 and 1179. The people were peaceful and prosperous, and tolerated even the Jews. Count Raymond of Toulouse, though not belonging to the sect, came to their rescue when Innocent's inquisitors came

among them with thumbscrew and rack and stake. Then the church excommunicated him (1207). The killing of the Pope's legate, Peter of Castelnau, by some unknown person or persons on Jan. 15, 1208, gave the pope the pretext he wanted for the extermination of the heretics. Raymond had submitted, made penance, and was now compelled to butcher his own subjects. "The bloody war of extermination which followed has scarcely a parallel in history. As town after town was taken, the inhabitants were put to the sword without distinction of age or sex, and the numerous ecclesiastics who were in the army especially distinguished themselves by a bloodthirsty ferocity. At the taking of Beziers (July 22, 1209), the Abbot Arnold, being asked how the heretics were to be distinguished from the faithful, made the infamous reply, 'Slay all; God will know his own.' The war was carried on under Simon de Montfort with undiminished cruelty for a number of years" (Encyclopedia Britannica, Art. Albigenses; ninth ed.). After the adoption of the Inquisition in Languedoc in 1229 by the Count of Toulouse the sect disappeared in a short time, or became "all but extinct," as the Britannica puts it.

Beziers contained 20,000 inhabitants; the papal legate reported that when it was taken 15,000 men, women, and children were slaughtered. As the city had sheltered many thousands of refugees from unprotected places the estimates of other historians that 38,000 were butchered may be nearer right than the legate's figures. Not a house was left standing. The castle of Brom was taken and about one hundred of its defenders had their noses cut

off and their eyes torn out, but one was left with one eye to guide the Christian murderers to Carabat. Advancing to the attack of Toulouse, Montfort slaughtered the peasants in the fields regardless of age and sex, destroying the crops and villages. At the taking of the castle of Menerbe the remnant of the defenders were given the choice of accepting Catholicism or casting themselves into a huge fire already prepared. They chose the latter, and one hundred and fifty were consumed. In May, 1211, Montfort took Lavaur, ordering his soldiers to kill none of the defenders, but to take them alive that the pope's legate and the other ecclesiastics might have the pleasure of seeing them murdered in more painful ways. They started out to hang Aimery, the Lord of Montreal, and eighty other knights, but the scaffold broke down with Aimery. We will let the Catholic historian, Petrus Vallensis, complete the story: "The count, seeing that this would produce great delay, ordered the rest to be massacred; and the pilgrims, receiving the order with the greatest avidity, very soon massacred them on the spot. The lady of the castle, who was a sister of Aimery, and an execrable heretic, was, by the count's order, thrown into a pit, which was filled up with stones. Afterwards our pilgrims collected the innumerable heretics which the castle contained, and burned them with the utmost joy." When the castle of Cassoro fell, sixty heretics were burned. These are a few of the awful scenes that were witnessed in that twenty years' war of extermination against the dissenters of Southern France. No one living to-day in lands where Science and Freethought have dulled the

edge of the sword of the church can even begin to realize what religious vengeance means. In such a wholesale way did the Inquisition work, that the stake and chain proved inadequate to the needs of the murderers for faith: sometimes pens were made of stakes and filled with straw; once into such an enclosure one hundred and eighty-three heretics were huddled and burned alive in the presence of the Archbishop of Rheims and seventeen other prelates (Draper "Int. Dev. Eu.," ii., 75).

# The Huguenots.

Huguenots was the name given by the Catholics to the French Calvinists in the sixteenth century. There had long been elements of dissent in Southern France, probably an inheritance from Arianism. We have already briefly told of the persecution of some of these heretical sects by the Roman church. The Huguenots were almost continuously persecuted from the reign of Francis I. (1515-47) to the Revolution of 1789, when they secured full religious liberty. From 1524 many isolated victims had been claimed by the scaffold and the stake, but in 1535 the persecution became systematic; the pope appointed an inquisitional tribunal, and thousands (including the Vaudois, of Provence, as told before), died under torture, at the stake, by the sword. Henry II. (1547-59) continued the policy of his father, the persecution growing more cruel with advancing years. In 1546 fourteen men were burned alive at Meaux, and Dr. Picard, a celebrated man in his time, in a sermon said that it was necessary unto salvation to believe that these men had gone to hell, "and if an angel came from heaven to say the contrary, he must not be listened to; 'for God would not be God, if he did not damn them eternally'" (White, "Massacre of St. Bartholomew," 16). A contemporary historian remarks that heretic burning was one of the popu-

lar sports of the day. Denunciation of heretics to the tribunals became a profitable trade when the edicts of Henry II. gave to the informer one-third of the confiscated estates of the victims of bigotry. Every avenue of escape was closed. Those acquitted of heresy in the civil courts could be arrested and tried in the ecclesiastical tribunals, and vice versa; suspected persons must possess a certificate of orthodoxy, and intercession on behalf of convicted dissenters was a penal offense. Heretical books were outlawed, and searched out by domiciliary visits. At Angers two of the three pastors were burned alive and forty of the flock burned as fast as they were caught, while fleeing. Of course this is only one incident out of hundreds, or thousands. In 1557 France suffered crushing defeats in its war with Spain, and the priests of Rome improved the occasion to successfully inflame the passions of the ignorant and fanatical populace against the Reformers; the ecclesiastics asserted that the toleration (think of calling such persecution "toleration"! ) of the heretics had brought down the wrath of God upon the country. (So the religious heirs of the Calvinists of France, the Presbyterian theocrats of the United States, declare that the disregard of Sunday laws in this nation has brought down upon us the judgments of God in the past and will bring down still worse ones in the future, if we do not more cruelly persecute "Sabbath-breakers.") Upon the conclusion of peace in April, 1559, the persecution broke out again and was conducted with more regularity. (White, 49). The accession of Francis II. upon the accidental death of Henry II. in 1559 brought no relief to the Huguenots.

New edicts were issued; rewards were offered for information against heretics. The children of the murdered begged in vain upon the streets, for no one dared feed or shelter them and thus incur a suspicion of heresy; "death was made a carnival; often the fanatical mob compelled the executioner to inflict a more painful death than that decreed by the court. As the result of an abortive attempt of some of the Dissenters to defend themselves by attacking the Guises, the most bitter of their enemies, twelve hundred were massacred. The pope protested to the king against the amnesty that was offered to the Reformed religionists in prison at the time of the revolt, and told him that all should be judicially proceeded against, or, if they were too numerous, should be swept off by war. He offered to assist and to procure the support of the King of Spain and the Italian princes" (White, 87). Persecution was pushed with renewed vigor; the edict of Romorantin made attendance at a conventicle high treason, and quintupled the reward paid to informers.

To vary the usual death by fire, some Huguenot women were placed in boxes without covers, but with bars across, the boxes were lowered into a trench, and the women buried alive. At Carcassonne in 1500 "one man had his mouth cut from ear to ear, and an iron bit was fastened into it. The town hangman murdered five Huguenots, whom he skinned, and then ate the heart of one of them. He also sawed another, a private enemy, in two" (White, 156). These are samples of what may be called the small massacres of that troubled period. The clergy were very violent in language,



declaiming against the slightest toleration as the most deadly of sins. It was an outrage, said one, that the city watch should protect heretics. In December, 1561, the Catholics of Cahors shut up the Huguenots in their place of meeting, fired it, and killed them as they came out of the flames. Like unjustifiable killings took place in Pamiers, Dijon, Troyes, Amiens, Abbeville, Tours, Bordeaux, Montpellier, Marseilles, Aurillac, and other places. The Edict of Pacification of January, 1562, which made moderate—very moderate—concessions to the dissenters—aroused the wrath of the pope and priests to fever heat. In Burgundy the Catholic leader, Travannes, drove the Reformed out of Dijon and ordered the peasantry in the vicinity “to massacre all who prayed elsewhere than in the churches, and to refuse drink, food, and shelter to the expelled rebels” (White, 184). On the first of March, 1562, at Vassey, Huguenots peacefully worshiping in a barn were set upon by the Duke of Guise and the Cardinal of Lorraine with the Duke’s soldiers and sixty or more murdered and two hundred wounded. At Sens the murderous example was followed in a three days’ massacre. At Toulouse, Castel-Navarre, and Villefranche also the Catholics rose against the Huguenots. At Sisteron, three hundred women and children, refugees from Provence, were pitilessly slaughtered. The clergy and Parliament of Paris “issued an order for those of the true church to take up arms and kill the heretics like mad dogs” (White, 206). This gave full license to every criminal to commit any outrage he chose. Claude Haton, quoted by White, says that 800 to 900 heretics were murdered in Paris in June 1562,

and several other authorities quoted by White (207) computed that the edict cost the lives of 50,000 persons. Santa Croce, the papal envoy, wrote to Cardinal Borromeo: "Monsieur d'Enghien, who is only a little boy of seven, is always saying that we must no longer delay to burn all the Huguenots without mercy. . . . This I learned from the constable [Constable of France, Montmorency], who expressed how greatly pleased he was to hear it" (Quoted by White, 208). This forcibly illustrates the murderous nature of religious teaching and example. Matters had become so bad that Queen Elizabeth instructed her ambassador to leave Paris, "because he could not witness such great cruelties" (*ibid.*). Guise, Montmorency, and St. Andre had conspired with Philip II. of Spain to wipe out dissent, "on no pretense to spare the life of any heretic." "Pius V. ordered collections to be made in the states of the church, gathered contributions from the Italian princes, and sent a small force of mercenaries across the Alps" (White, 209, on the authority of Forbes, "State Papers," ii., 4). The royal forces took Blois, Tours, Poitiers, Angers, and Bourges, . . . signaling the capture of these cities by atrocities which could have been perpetrated only when the passions of a fierce soldiery were inflamed by religious fanaticism" (White, 210). The massacre at Tours took place a month after the capture of the city, men, women, and children suffering indiscriminately. "In five or six days the banks of the river down to Angers were covered with dead bodies" (*ibid.*, 211). In Toulouse and vicinity five thousand Huguenots were slaughtered. These were a very few of the many

atrocities of the first war. The Pacification of Amboise (March 19, 1563) restricted the rights of the dissenters, but left them a few, to the intense disgust of the orthodox party. The Duke of Aumale, governor of Burgundy, declared: "There shall sooner be two suns in heaven than two religions in my government" (ibid.). The edicts of toleration were always strained against the heretics. "The Huguenots have lost more by edicts in time of peace than by force in time of war" (Pasquier [a Catholic], "Lettres," v., lett. 3).

The Second War terminated with the Treaty of Longjumeau (March 20, 1568). The treaty was not favorable to the Huguenots, but it did not satisfy the papal court. "The mere rumor of peace" called out a strong protest from the pope's envoy; the heretics must be exterminated (ibid., 285). So "from every pulpit fanatical monks hounded on their already eager listeners to further deeds of blood, not only by proclaiming that faith ought not to be kept with heretics, but that it was a meritorious act to slay them" (ibid., 287). Restraint, annoyance, insult, imprisonment, torture and death met the heretics on every side. "M. de Cypierre was murdered, with thirty-six of his companions and suite, as he was passing through Provence" (ibid.). Pius V. encouraged the violation of the treaty, and urged on the fanatics in their bloody course. On the 25th of June and the 21st of September Leagues for the extirpation of heresy were formed in Champaign and at Toulouse, respectively; at the latter place "the faithful are reminded of the heretical Albigenses destroyed in that very district to the number of 60,000"

(ibid., 290). Arms were called for, and all was "done under the authority of our holy father the Pope" (ibid.). War again broke out; the Huguenot commander-in-chief, the Prince of Conde, fell wounded from his horse at the battle of Jarnac; then he was foully murdered. Pius V. wrote to the king (Charles IX.), congratulating him on the victory, and bidding him "be deaf to every prayer, to trample upon every tie of blood and affection, and to extirpate heresy down to its smallest fibers" (Quoted by White, 298). "He pointed to the example of Saul slaying the Amalekites, and condemned every feeling of clemency as a temptation of Satan" (White, 298). He gave similar sanguinary advice after the victory of Moncontour. There were during this Third War the usual massacres of prisoners and helpless women and children. After alternate defeats and victories the Huguenots secured some concessions by the treaty of St. Germain. As usual, the papal nuncio fought bitterly against the cessation of the war, and in January Pius V. had strongly advised its continuance. An incident of the march of the Catholic army to the garrison towns preparatory to disbandment shows the humane temper of the time after centuries of Christian teaching and government. "When Strozzi had to cross the Loire, he found his march so embarrassed by the number of female camp followers, who would not obey the proclamations to leave the army, that he threw more than 800 of them into the Loire at Point de Ce above Angers" (ibid.).

In two years the massacre of St. Bartholomew was to deluge France in blood. The Holy See

was eager for the slaughter to begin; rather, it was sorry to have it cease for a day. After the treaty of St. Germain was signed, Pius V. wrote to the Cardinals of Lorraine and Bourbon, giving voice to his "fears that God would inflict a judgment on the king and all who counseled and took part in the infamous negotiations. We cannot refrain from tears as we think how deplorable the peace is to all good men; how full of danger, and what a source of bitter regret" (Quoted by White, 316). The king and queen-mother told him that peace was necessary; he retorted angrily. The priests echoed the pope. "Arise, Joshua, and smite Makkedah with the edge of the sword," they cried. The appeal bore fruit. In Feb., 1571, there was a three days' riot in Orange, women and children as well as men being murdered. In March fifteen Huguenots going to worship outside the walls of Rouen were killed (*ibid.*, 328). To prevent the marriage of Admiral Coligny to the Countess of Entremont the nuncio Salviati proposed her assassination (Coquerel, "La Sainte-Barthelemy," 27, note; Paris, 1859). Events were hastening. With almost infinite difficulty a marriage had been arranged between the Catholic Margaret of Valois, sister of the king, and the Huguenot Prince Henry of Bearn, soon to be king of Navarre through the death of his mother, Joan of Navarre. Pius V. refused to grant a dispensation for the marriage of a Catholic to a heretic, but when the news came that Gregory XIII., who succeeded him, had forwarded the dispensation, the marriage was set for Aug. 18, 1572. The Huguenot nobility came to Paris to attend the ceremony, though with many



misgivings. Coligny had been in the city for some time, as an adviser of the government, a position to which his rank as a Chatillon and his relations to the house of Bourbon entitled him. The queen-mother, Catherine de Medicis, and Charles IX. seemed to accept the counsel of Coligny at one moment and at the next throw themselves into the arms of the irreconcilable Catholic party led by the Guises. Charles was at times effusive in his expressions of friendship for the Huguenot chief, who had been entreated by many of his party not to risk his life by going to Paris.

The marriage took place. Then the festivities were continued with great pomp for several days, but, although the people turned out to see the show, they manifestly disapproved of the inter-religious alliance. The Guise faction was present in strong force and fully armed, and they were well known to have a deadly hatred for the admiral. In view of this Charles told Coligny that as a measure of precaution he had introduced into the city 1,200 arquebusiers of the Royal Guard, under trusted officers. On the 22d of August as Coligny was going to his hotel, a shot was fired from a latticed window at his right. He received two wounds, one bullet carrying off the first finger of the right hand, the other lodging in his left arm. His assailant was a minion of the young Duke of Guise. The king threatened vengeance on the procurers of the assassination, and was probably at the moment sincere in his determination to protect the other Huguenot leaders. But his mother, her favorite son, the Duke of Anjou, the Guises, and others who were probably privy to the attempted

murder in the first place, so worked upon his fears that he at last issued the order for the massacre. Fifty of the king's guard were set to protect the house of Coligny; they were commanded by one of his bitterest enemies. Meanwhile Catherine was filling the ears of Charles with false stories of the Huguenots arming against the throne, and of a conspiracy to put Henry of Navarre in his place. Finally he consented to the slaughter. The story of a Huguenot plot to destroy the king and royal family, and of the march of a rebel army upon the city was slyly given to a few mob leaders; Charles ordered the gates of the city closed that none might escape, and all was prepared for the massacre.

Between three and four o'clock in the morning of Aug. 24th the Duke of Guise with his associates and followers broke into the room of the wounded Coligny and murdered him and all but three of his friends and domestics found in the house. Coligny's son-in-law, Teligny, and La Rochefoucault fell next. When Catherine received the news of Coligny's death she ordered the bell of St. Germain l'Auxerrois to be rung as the signal for the general slaughter to begin. Henry of Navarre and the Prince of Conde were arrested in the palace; the gentlemen with the former, to the number of probably forty or fifty, were disarmed, taken into the court-yard, and promptly murdered. All over the city blood flowed like water. The massacre continued through Monday and Tuesday. The murderers wore white crosses on their hats and capes, to distinguish them from their victims. The streets were filled and the river choked with corpses. Men,



women and children perished together. The dead were stripped and their houses looted. Many Catholic gentlemen, including some very high in station, paid their debts with the money of the murdered. Dealers in Huguenot books, and scholars, were particularly singled out for destruction. Charles himself fired on the fleeing Huguenots. On Aug. 26th Charles, with his mother and brothers, went to the Cathedral church of Notre Dame where he returned thanks to God for the destruction of the dissenters, without the sacrifice of the life of a single believer. As soon (Aug. 23d) as the king's assent to the massacre had been obtained letters or verbal orders were sent to the provinces commanding the murder of the Huguenots. All in Saumer were killed; many in Angers; in Lyons the slaughter reached at least 2,000; fourteen hundred perished in Orleans, of whom one hundred and fifty were women; in Bordeaux the massacre did not take place until the 3d of October, when Jesuits succeeded in inciting a band of ruffians to the deed; the massacre at Meaux, Troyes, Rouen, and Toulouse presented in each case peculiar features of atrocity; in other cities and provinces many were killed.

It is impossible to say how many were slaughtered in Paris and in all France. The massacre continued for a long time; the nuncio, Slaviati, writing from Paris on the 15th of September, says: "Every night some tens of Huguenots, caught by day in various places, are thrown into the river without any disturbance" (Quoted by White, 459). The Count of St. Pol, Ambassador from the Duke of Savoy, wrote on Sept. 26th: "They are daily

putting Huguenots to death in Paris and elsewhere" (ibid.). The estimates for Paris range from 1,000 to 10,000; White, who is careful and fair-minded, accepts 6,000 as a reasonable figure. For all France the numbers have been put from 2,000 to 100,000. "If it be necessary to choose from these hap-hazard estimates," says White, (461) "that of De Thou [20,000] is preferable, from the calm, unexaggerating temper of the man."

For twenty years the massacre was commemorated in Paris by solemn anniversary processions, and other displays of triumph and joy, and for longer periods in other parts of the kingdom. "When the news of the massacre reached Rome, the exultation among the clergy knew no bounds. The Cardinal of Lorraine rewarded the messenger with a thousand crowns; the cannon of St. Angelo thundered forth a joyous salute; the bells rang out from every steeple; bonfires turned night into day, and Gregory XIII., attended by the cardinals and other ecclesiastical dignitaries, went in long procession to the church of St. Louis, where the Cardinal of Lorraine chanted a Te Deum. A pompous Latin inscription in gilt letters over the entrance describes Charles as an avenging angel sent from heaven ('angelo percussore divinitus immisso') to sweep his kingdom from heretics. A medal was struck to commemorate the massacre and in the Vatican may still be seen three frescoes by Vasari describing the attack upon the admiral, the king in council plotting the massacre, and the massacre itself. Gregory sent Charles the golden rose; and four months after the massacre, when humaner feelings might have been supposed to have

resumed their sway, he listened complacently to the sermon of a French priest, the learned but cankered Muretas, who spoke of 'that day so full of happiness and joy when the most holy father received the news and went in solemn state to render thanks to God and St. Louis. . . . That night the stars shone with greater luster, the Seine rolled her waters more proudly to cast into the sea the corpses of those unholy men'" (White, 465-66). Cardinal Fabio Orsini was sent by the pope to congratulate Charles on the massacre. So much of history showing the attitude of the church toward this unparalleled massacre of the innocent and helpless.

But the struggle had not ended; after the first panic was over the Huguenots again flew to arms, and renewed the civil war in defense of their liberties and lives in 1573, 1576, 1577, and 1580. With German aid they secured by the treaty of Beaulieu (1576) complete religious freedom, but the Catholics formed the Holy League, which they forced King Henry III. to join, and renewed the war. By the treaty of Nemours (1585) the Protestants were denied all rights and privileges. War continued to harass the unhappy land, and by the edict of Nantes the Huguenots secured partial religious liberty. Under Henry IV. (1589-1610) they had peace, but in the reign of Louis XIII. (1610-1643) they were again oppressed. Louis XIV. (1643-1715) persecuted them mercilessly. The dragonnades began in 1681; the formal revocation of the edict of Nantes followed in 1685. "Thousands of the churches were torn down, vast numbers of confessors were tortured, burnt, or sent to the galleys" (Kurtz, "Church

History," iii. 5). Hundreds of thousands emigrated in spite of the terrible laws against emigration; others fled to the wilds of the Cevennes and maintained a desperate conflict for years. France lost half a million of her best subjects in this last crusade, killed in battle, died at the stake, under the ax, on the wheel and gallows, and emigrated (*ibid.*). The *Encyclopedia Britannica* thinks a million emigrated, probably. During all these years the papacy stood stanchly by the persecutors of heresy.

Among the almost numberless smaller sects that were persecuted, some of which were annihilated, were the Cathiri, originating in the eleventh century, the disciples of Amalrich of Bena. One of the latter, William the goldsmith, with nine priests, was burned by order of a synod at Paris in 1209. The Ortlibarians were condemned by Innocent III.; Arnold of Brescia was excommunicated and imprisoned, but escaped; Gerhard Segarelli, founder of the Apostolic Brothers, perished in the flames, with many of his followers, in 1300. He was an artisan of Parma; after his death Fra Dolcino took the leadership, but eventually met the same fate as his master. The Lollards, who appeared at Antwerp in 1300, did not escape persecution, nor did even the fanatical Flagellants. In Bohemia in the fifteenth century the Bohemian and Moravian Brethren suffered terribly, as did other sectarists. In short, when Rome ruled heresy was the one "sin" for which there was no forgiveness or toleration; indulgences were sold for the commission of all crimes, but for dissent in thinking and worship there was no indulgence shown.

# The Jesuits.

In securing the supremacy of the Roman church, which the Inquisition so greatly aided in attaining and perpetuating, the "Company of Jesus" played a most important part. Its founder, Ignatius Loyola, Don Inigo Lopez de Recalde, sought to create an organization that would reach every part of the earth and make every sovereign and every subject the vassal of Rome, or, more correctly speaking, of this empire within an empire, the Society of Jesus. Severely wounded at the siege of Pampeluna in 1521, he spent the time of his convalescence in reading, among other things, the legends of the saints. Impressed deeply by these fanciful tales, he became strongly desirous of imitating the lives of the elect of the church. He was the victim of nervous disorders, and in his convulsions saw the Virgin and received her approval. When he recovered he gave his property to the poor, took the beggar's garb, and "subjected himself to the most rigorous asceticism." In 1524 he began the study of Latin among boys; later took up philosophy at Comptum, and theology at Salamanca and Paris. In the latter city six men of like mind, including Francis Xavier, joined with him, and on August 15, 1534, in the crypt of Notre Dame de Montmartre, Paris, they

took the oaths that bound them to each other and to the service of the pope. At first it was intended to labor simply as a missionary society in Palestine, but Loyola prudently postponed the beginning of the work to Jan. 25, 1537, so as to have time to make any necessary modifications, or to permit of the abandonment of the scheme. Going to Venice in 1536 they received from Pope Paul III. permission to go as missionaries to Palestine, and were ordained at Venice in 1537, but a war breaking out between Turkey and Venice made the proposed journey impracticable. In November of 1537 Loyola announced that the society would henceforward be known as the "Company of Jesus," and they offered themselves to the pope as special militia. There was much opposition to the formation of new societies within the church, the impression being that the monastic system had broken down utterly, and so it was not until Sept. 27, 1540, that the bull confirming the new order was published. It limited the society to sixty members, but this restriction was removed by a bull issued in March, 1543.

The earlier orders in the church had their origin in a desire to retire from the world, to lead a contemplative and prayerful life in the quiet seclusion of the cloister. "Contrariwise, the Jesuit system is to withdraw religious men from precisely this sort of retirement, except as a mere temporary preparation for later activity, and to make habitual intercourse with society a prime duty, rigidly suppressing all such external regulations of dress, rule, and austerities, as tend to put obstacles in the way, so leaving the members of the 'Com-

pany' free to act as emissaries, agents, or missionaries in the most various places or circumstance" (Encyclopedia Britannica, Art. Jesuits). The older societies were usually democratic in form, and admission was seldom difficult. On the other hand, "the Jesuit polity is almost a pure depotism." The power of the general is absolute; "he holds in his hands the threads of the entire business of the society in its most minute and distant ramifications" (ibid.). "Once more, the distinguishing peculiarity of the earlier communities, dating from the origin of the Benedictine rule, is their hostility to local change" (ibid.). Stability was to be secured; there was to be as little moving about as possible; where the profession was made, there the life was to be passed, in the absence of exceptional reasons. This implied and tended to produce nationalism. But Jesuitism looked to mobility; it aimed at cosmopolitanism; one church to dominate the whole earth. The Jesuits were to be the "light horse" of Rome, capable of rapid movement in any direction. Foreigners were to be missionaries and the superiors of Jesuit houses, but they must thoroughly master the language of the country to which they were sent—Loyola contemplated "thus by degrees making all the parts of his vast system mutually interchangeable, and so largely increasing the number of persons eligible to fill any given post, without reference to locality" (ibid.). The earlier monastic orders sought to perfect the spiritual life of their individual members; to fit them for heaven, and incidentally to secure credit for the order from the personal character of the members. "But the founder of Jesuitism started at once with a totally different

purpose. To him, from the first, the society was everything, and the individual nothing, except so far as he might prove a useful instrument for carrying out the society's objects" (ibid.). He said that natural goodness in the members was of less value to the society than firmness of character and business ability, and that "even exceptional qualities and endowments in a candidate were valuable in his eyes only on the condition of their being brought into play or held in abeyance strictly at the command of a superior" (ibid.). Not only must the inferior implicitly obey his superior, but he must identify his will with that superior's; "the 'sacrifice of the intellect'—a favorite Jesuit watchword—is the third and highest grade of obedience, well-pleasing to God, when the inferior not only wills what the superior wills, but thinks what he thinks, submitting his judgment so far as it is possible for the will to influence and lead the judgment" (ibid.).

This submission of the inferior to the superior was made permanent by providing "that no Jesuit can accept a cardinal's hat, a bishopric other than missionary, an abbacy, or any similar dignity, save with permission of the general, not to be accorded unless and until the pope has commanded its acceptance under pain of sin" (ibid.). The final grade of the four vows cannot be reached until the forty-fifth year of life, and this rule is very seldom suspended; if the novice begins at fourteen years of age—the earliest at which he can begin—he will thus have to spend thirty-one years in passing through the various grades preceding that of the four vows. From those who have



reached the grades of the three vows and the four vows proceeds all the power of the company, and from the last alone all the officers are taken. So all the authority of the Company resides in a very few hands. The system of reports—weekly, monthly, and quarterly—puts every rope into the hands of the general, and each class of reports is a check upon the makers of the others. Then there is an elaborate system of espionage and accusation for each house, and the general himself is carefully watched.

The services to Rome of the Jesuit order have been incalculable. "The Jesuits alone rolled back the tide of Protestant advance when that half of Europe which had not already shaken off its allegiance to the papacy was threatening to do so, and the whole honors of the counter-Reformation are theirs singly" (*ibid.*). And yet the Company has many times been in direct conflict with the papacy, and on July 21, 1773, Clement XIV. formally suppressed the society, and it was compelled to take refuge in the non-Catholic countries of Russia and Prussia. Upon the whole, however, the Company has more than held its own in its contentions with the Holy See, and to-day is in undisputed possession of its corporate legal rights, restored in 1814. With the support of Pius IX., "and the gradual filling of nearly all the sees of Latin Christendom with bishops of their own selection," they were enabled to crown the Ultramontane triumph with the Vatican decrees" (*ibid.*).

What is meant by "Jesuitry" are the three principles of probabilism, of mental reservation, and of justification of means by ends. "Probabilism" is

the doctrine "that a man may do what is probably right or is inculcated by teachers of authority, although it may not be the most probably right, or may not seem right to himself" (Webster). The three principles here named are those which have given to the Company of Jesus the greater part of its disrepute with moralists, but other causes have combined with these to wreck Loyola's lofty plan of universal dominion. The principal of these is the leveling down and suppressing system of education and discipline which Loyola and his associates and successors created and perpetuated. The result could not be other than it is. In the words of the *Encyclopedia Britannica*: "Respectable mediocrity is the brand on the long list of Jesuit names in the catalogues of Alegambe and De Backer. This result is due chiefly to the destructive process of scooping out the will of the Jesuit novice, to replace it with that of his superior (as a watchmaker might fit a new movement into a case), and thereby annihilating in all instances those subtle qualities of individuality and originality which are essential to genius. Men of the highest stamp will either refuse to submit to the process, or will come forth from the mill with their finest qualities pulverized and useless." Then the refusal to deal with any questions in a novel or broad way could not fail to make dullards as the suppressing process made slaves. Added to all this we have the baneful reaction upon the society of the weeding out system in the garden of the human understanding in the world at large. It is not possible for an organization to assist the greater organization of which it is a part



**Ignatius Loyola.**

for centuries in the work of destroying with sword and fire the keenest intellects born into society without itself ultimately suffering the effects of its own purblind cruelty. Just in the ratio that men of exceptional clearness of perception and acuteness of reasoning power are driven into penury, are frightened into silence, or mercilessly killed because they are "heretics," in just that ratio will the average of intelligence be lowered, and consequently the persecuting organization must draw its recruits from a poorer and poorer reserve. This is what Jesuitism did and this is what Jesuitism reaped.

It has been plausibly argued that the church often interposed between the tyrant and his helpless subjects, and that it consequently did much to secure the rights of the people. Even Draper seems to admit as much, when he says that the Jesuits "labored with a zeal that will secure them everlasting honor to hasten and direct the emancipation" of the masses from the power of the sovereigns ("Ra. in Eu.," ii., 14). But on the preceding page Draper has completely answered himself in these words: "If we begin our review with the Ultramontane party in the church of Rome, which especially represented the opinions of the popes, we find that it was confronted with two great facts. In the first place, a multitude of sovereigns had embraced Protestantism simply to emancipate themselves from papal control; and in the next place, the Catholic population in several countries was sufficiently numerous to resist with some chance of success their Protestant rulers. The points, therefore, which were most accentuated in

the teachings of the writers of this school, were the power of the pope to depose sovereigns, especially for heresy, and the right of the people to resist an heretical ruler." This is the Draper sober to whom appeal is successfully made from the Draper drunk who speaks in our first quotation. It must be remembered that the people of that period believed in the divine right of kings, and so believing Catholic subjects would shrink from attacking their sovereign, even if he were a Protestant. The Jesuits saw that it would redound to the profit of the church if the Catholic peoples could be made to see that they were under no obligations to obey a heretical ruler, that the pope was the one divinely-ordained sovereign to whom they owed allegiance. The people were to be freed from the kings that they might the more surely be bound to the chariot wheels of the triumphant popes. Mariana, Suarez, and other prominent Jesuits argued that it was no crime to kill a bad king, and by "bad" they generally meant one who failed to rule wrongly in the particular way favored by the church. On page one hundred and forty-nine of the same volume Draper again reveals the real secrets of Jesuit antagonism to kings: "Suarez maintained that the deposed king could be killed by those only whom the pope had expressly authorized; but there can be little doubt that the Jesuits looked with a very indulgent eye on all attempts at assassination that were directed against a deposed sovereign who was in opposition to the church." The Company was determined to rule, and to rule through the church, and it could not rule through the church if the



secular powers were permitted to deal with the people directly when the church had vetoed any measure favored by the temporal government. So determined was it to rule that it did not hesitate to extend its ideas concerning regicide to the popes themselves when they got in its way. In China in 1710 it did not fear to throw Cardinal Tournon, legate of Clement XI., into the prison of the Inquisition at Macao, where he died, and it is more than suspected of having directly procured the death of Sixtus V., Urban VII., Clement VIII., and Clement XIV.

Jesuitism is Romanism concentrated and intensified. It is the poison of supernatural authority raised to its highest potency. So malignant is it, that even Catholics have recognized it as a deadly menace to health and life. Every Catholic government on earth, with the exception of that of Belgium, has, at one time or another, banished the Jesuits from its dominions. But it will live so long as ignorant and superstitious people are willing to pay tribute to cunning and unscrupulous greed, and they will be willing so long as they are ignorant and superstitious. Only the light of science can drive away the vampires of Jesuitism, as all the other foul broods of the darkness. It should be added here that the persecutions for the fictitious crime of "witchcraft," detailed in the next section, were greatly intensified in vigor and cruelty by the Jesuits, who in that field of persecution outdid the Dominicans, theretofore the special guardians of orthodoxy.

## The Jesuits in Japan.

If the excesses of the Inquisition established Catholicism firmly in Spain, the same cause prevented its establishment in at least one country whose rulers were wise to the perils with which it threatened them.

The Jesuit Xavier, now among the "saints," landed at Kagoshima, Japan, with his Portuguese followers in 1549, and by 1581 they had upwards of two hundred churches in the country. They converted not the common people alone, but a dozen "daimyo," or lords, as well. The emperor Nobunaga favored them in many ways—though he never dreamed of becoming a Christian himself—because he thought they would make good allies against Buddhism, which had then become a political religion, supplanting or submerging the native Shinto cult.

The temporary success of Catholicism in Japan is explained by Lafcadio Hearn—an author whose writings are accepted as authoritative for reference on matters Japanese—on the theory that the foreign faith was mistaken by the people for a new kind of Buddhism. In fact, the Japanese text of an official grant of land made to the Portuguese mission at Yamaguchi in 1552 states that the concession is made to the strangers in order that they

may preach "the law of Buddha." Hearn says: "If this error (or deception?) could have occurred at Yamaguchi, it is reasonable to suppose that it also occurred in other places. Exteriorly the Roman rites resembled those of popular Buddhism; the people would have observed but little that was unfamiliar to them in the forms of the service, the vestments, the beads, the prostrations, the images, the bells, and the incense. The virgins and the saints would have been found to resemble aureoled Boddhisattvas and Buddhas; the angels and the demons would have been at once identified with the Tennin and Oni. All that pleased popular imagination in the Buddhist ceremonial could be witnessed, under slightly different form, in those temples which had been handed over to the Jesuits and consecrated by them as churches or chapels."

To these reasons for the popular acceptance of Catholicism may be added the tolerance of the Jesuits toward ancestor-worship, which converts were for the time left free to practice. Later they intended to suppress it by inquisitorial methods, as in Spain they stamped out by torture and death the retained rites of Jewish Christians, but at first the ancestral ceremonies were undisturbed. The propaganda was carried on by converting the daimyo, or lords, by bribes in the form of ammunition and firearms brought from Portugal, with trade in return for the privilege of preaching. The daimyo being brought over, his adherents followed.

In the insolence of growing power, in 1572 the Portuguese invaders demanded the whole of the town of Nagasaki as a gift to their church, and



they got it. Nagasaki then became Christian territory, governed in all matters, religious and secular, by the church. The character of the Christian religion was soon proved by Jesuit attacks upon the local religion. They set fire to the great Buddhist temple, and attributed the fire to the wrath of God. Thus stimulated, the zeal of their converts led them to burn some eighty other temples in or about Nagasaki. Within the city and its territory Buddhism was totally suppressed, its priests being persecuted and driven away. In the province of Bungo all Buddhist temples, numbering, it is said, about three thousand, were destroyed by the converted daimyo, and many of the Buddhist priests were killed. The burnings and slaughterings were praised by the Jesuits as evidence of holy zeal.

Under the Emperor Nobunaga's encouragement the foreign faith had become coercive and ferocious, and at the time of his death (by assassination) in 1586 he had come to regret his policy in favoring its introduction. "The conduct of these missionaries," he said, "in persuading people to join them by gifts of money does not please me," and he once assembled his retainers and asked them what they thought of demolishing the "temple of the southern savages," as the Portuguese church was called. By advice of a counselor he refrained from demolishing the church, but he nevertheless set himself to thinking how the Christian religion could be rooted out. His successor, the emperor Hideyoshi, found a way. In reprisal for the destruction of thousands of Buddhist temples by the Jesuits, he burned their churches in Kyoto, Osaka, and Sakai, drove the missionaries out of the cap-

ital (1587), and a year later ordered them to leave the country altogether. Feeling themselves strong enough to defy the emperor, instead of leaving Japan the missionaries scattered through the country, placing themselves under the protection of the daimyo whom they had "converted." For four years they refrained from preaching, and so were left unmolested.

In 1591 a number of Spanish Franciscans arrived in Japan in the train of an embassy from the Philippines, and obtained leave to stay in the country on condition that they were not to preach Christianity. Hideyoshi learned from them the value of the word of a priest, for they at once broke their pledge. He made an example by crucifying at Nagasaki six Franciscans, three Jesuits, and several other Christians, which resort to their own methods of warfare had the effect of halting the propaganda until Hideyoshi's death in 1598.

In the reign of the next emperor, Iyeyasu, who is characterized by Lafcadio Hearn as "one of the shrewdest and also one of the humanest statesmen that ever lived," events occurred which led to the complete extirpation of Catholic Christianity in Japan. In 1600 there arrived a Dutch ship in charge of an English pilot named Will Adams. At this time the Jesuits from Portugal were powerful and influential enough to cause the ship to be seized and the crew taken into custody by the daimyo of Bungo, who reported the proceeding to the emperor. The Portuguese Jesuits had their own reasons for not wanting the ruler of Japan to meet the heretics, and their malevolent anxiety for the death of the sailors was observed by the

astute Iyeyasu, who was probably all the more favorably inclined toward the crew by the ill-concealed eagerness of the Catholics to have them crucified. Pilot Adams wrote to his wife about the affair: "The Iesuites and the Portingalls gaue many euidences against me and the rest to the Emperour, that we were theecues and robbers of all nations—and were we suffered to liue, it should be against the profit of his Highnes, and the land." The emperor gave them (the Jesuits) answer, says Adams, "that we had as yet not done to him nor none of his lande any harme or damage; therefore against Reason and Iustice to put vs to death." Adams was an experienced mariner and an intelligent observer, who had served for both master and pilot in the ships of his majesty the king of Britain; and when, despite, or perhaps because of, the opposition of the Jesuits, the emperor summoned him to an interview he was able to impart to that potentate much information about the habits of Jesuits and other Catholics in power. He could tell Iyeyasu the story of the Spanish conquests in America and the extermination of the West Indian races; the story of the persecutions in the Netherlands, and of the work of the Inquisition in Spain and elsewhere; and the story of the two Armadas sent to England by a Spanish king in the attempt to force the Catholic faith upon that country by war and persecution. Adams had many interviews with the emperor, in which these matters and others were discussed, and he rose to extraordinary favor, being eventually given an estate and created a samurai.

From the beginning of his reign Iyeyasu had

been organizing and unifying his empire and establishing his power to cope with the foreign conspirators. In 1606 he issued an edict forbidding further mission work and proclaiming that those who had adopted Christianity must abandon it. By Christianity he meant what Voltaire meant by "the Infamous," the intriguing system of Rome which aimed at the overthrow of the native government and the sectarian domination of the country. He did not consider the Dutch or the English to be Christians in the sense of the edict, nor did he regard them as politically dangerous.

Despite the edict, the Catholic propaganda went on, conducted not alone by Jesuits but by Dominicans and Franciscans as well, and characterized by pitiless persecution of the native religion at Catholic instigation. In 1614 there remained but eight out of the total of sixty-four provinces of Japan into which Christianity had not been introduced. Then came the final decree of Iyeyasu, in which he said:

"The Kirishitan band have come to Japan, not only sending their merchant vessels to exchange commodities, but also longing to disseminate an evil law, to overthrow right doctrine, so that they may change the government of the country, and obtain possession of the land. This is the germ of great disaster, and must be crushed."

He knew now that invasion followed the priest and that the Inquisition would follow conquest. The design of the Jesuits was to seize a port, invite foreign military help, compel a change of government, and establish Catholicism as the religion of Japan.

Some three hundred of the foreign priests were put on ships by the emperor and sent out of the country, together with a number of Japanese whom they had won to their side and who were engaged with them in political intrigues. No unnecessary severity, such as would have been adopted by Catholics had the situation been reversed, had been used by Iyeyasu; but harsh measures were to follow an event which occurred in 1615, when Hideyori, the son of the late emperor, having possession of large revenues and the strongest fortress in Japan, the castle of Osaka, took the Jesuit side and made the castle the refuge for adherents of the invading sect. Iyeyasu besieged the castle, burned it, and the young conspirator perished in the flames; but the siege cost a hundred thousand lives. Pilot Adams wrote of the fate of the de-luded Hideyori:

"Hee made warres with the Emperour . . . . also by the Jessvits and Ffriers, which mad bel-leeue he should be fauord with mirrakles and wounders; but in fyne it proued the contrari. For the ould Emperour against him presently maketh his forces reddy by sea and land, and compasseth his castell that he was in; although with loss of multitudes on both sides, yet in the end rasseth the castell walles, setteth it on fyre, and burneth hym in it."

Iyeyasu died and was succeeded in 1616 by his son, who continued the war on his father's enemies.

In 1636 a host of converted peasants rose in arms, burnt all of the Japanese temples in their vicinity, and imprinting a cross upon their banner, appealed to the Christian element everywhere and

declared a religious war. Their numbers swelled to thirty or forty thousand; they seized an abandoned castle on the coast of Shimabara and there fortified themselves. As this constituted a point of vantage from which a Spanish invasion of the country might be attempted with some chance of success, the government dispatched an overwhelming force against the insurgents, who yielded after a resistance lasting one hundred and two days—not a sufficient time for foreign help to arrive. The Dutchmen in the harbor with their ships took advantage of the opportunity to get back at the religion which had been burning alive as heretics the men and women of the Netherlands. They joined in the suppression of the revolt and fired 426 shot into the castle that sheltered those of the same faith with the persecutors of their kin in the days of Alva.

With the crushing of this rebellion fell the hopes of the Jesuits of establishing themselves in Japan. Their religion, says Lafcadio Hearn, “had brought to Japan nothing but evil: disorders, persecutions, revolts, political troubles, and war. Even those virtues of the people which had been evolved at unutterable cost for the protection and conservation of society—their self-denial, their faith, their loyalty, their constancy and courage—were by this black creed diverted, distorted, and transformed into forces for the destruction of that society. Could that destruction have been accomplished, and a new Roman Catholic empire have been founded upon the ruins, the forces of that empire would have been used for the further extension of priestly tyranny, the spread of the Inquisition,

the perpetual Jesuit warfare against freedom of conscience and human progress. . . . Viewed from any other standpoint than that of religious bias, and simply judged by its results, the Jesuit effort to Christianize Japan must be regarded as a crime against humanity, a labor of devastation, a calamity comparable only—by reason of the misery and destruction which it wrought—to an earthquake, a tidal-wave, a volcanic eruption.”

Anyone doubting the justness of this verdict has only to look at the abased position of Spain, where Catholicism succeeded in doing what it failed to do in Japan.

## The Crusades.

"The Crusades form one of the maddest episodes in history. Christianity hurled itself at Moham-medanism in expedition after expedition for nearly three centuries, until failure brought lassitude, and superstition itself was undermined by its own labors. Europe was drained of men and money, and threatened with social bankruptcy, if not with annihilation. Millions perished in battle, hunger, or disease; and every atrocity the imagination can conceive disgraced the warriors of the cross" (Foote and Wheeler, "Crimes of Christianity," i., 172). Those few words tell the story of the Crusades. At the end of the tenth century Pope Sylvester II. "entreated the church universal to succor the church at Jerusalem, and to redeem a sepulcher which the prophet Isaiah had said should be a glorious one, and which the sons of the destroyer Satan were making inglorious" (Charles Mills, "Hist. of the Crusades," i., 24). Christians had been making pilgrimages to Jerusalem ever since the fourth century, when the Empress Helena had "discovered" the cross, and it had become a source of revenue to the priests. The orthodox themselves testified that the sacred city was a cesspool of corruption. The soil of Palestine was a charm against demons, and enormous



quantities of it were carried to Europe. Many women took part in the pilgrimages, and scandal was rife. It was expected that the world would come to an end at the close of the tenth century, and multitudes of Christians thronged to the Holy Land, suffering great hardships and subjecting themselves to severe penances. But Christ did not appear at Jerusalem to judge the world. However, the bursting of the bubble taught the dupes nothing; the next century there were more pilgrims than ever before.

In 637 Jerusalem had fallen, without bloodshed, into the hands of the Caliph Omar. The Mohammedans protected the Christians in person and property, and left them undisturbed in possession of their churches. As time passed the payment of a small tribute secured the Christians immunity in their quarter, where "the Greeks, the Latins, the Nestorians and Jacobites, the Copts and Abyssinians, the Armenians and Georgians," quarreled bitterly in their worship of the same God and savior. To this day a guard of Turkish soldiers is necessary to keep the Greek and Latin Christians from massacring each other in the church of the Holy Sepulcher. Four hundred years passed and near the end of the tenth century Christian pilgrims were sometimes robbed and otherwise abused by the Turks, not, however, with the sanction of the government. But in 1009 the Church of the Resurrection was destroyed by the bigot Hakem, who "made some martyrs and many proselytes." The Christian nations were shocked by the sacrilege, "but instead of arming in defense of the Holy Land, they contented themselves with burning or banishing the Jews" (Gibbon, chap. lviii.). About

a century later the Turks became more oppressive, insulting the clergy, robbing the pilgrims, and desecrating the rebuilt Church of the Resurrection.

Europe was aroused. Peter the Hermit, a native of Amiens, France, had visions and received a letter from heaven, as he said. He made a pilgrimage of expiation to Jerusalem, and there vowed, as an additional penance, to travel over Europe and urge the people to come to the rescue. Pope Urban II. abetted him by calling a Council at Placentia in 1095. It was attended by more than four thousand ecclesiastics and thirty thousand laymen. Ambassadors of the Greek emperor, Alexius Comnenus, asked for aid against the common foe of the church. The assemblage was ready to start, but Urban deferred his decision. A second council was held at Clermont. in November of that year. Urban "solemnly commanded a Crusade against the 'infidels' who were in possession of Christ's sepulcher, and promised a remission of sins to those who joined it, and paradise to those who fell in battle" (C. of C., 178). "God wills it," shouted the fanatics, and the pope told them that that was their battle-cry. "His [Christ's] cross is the symbol of your salvation; wear it, a red, a bloody cross, as an external mark, on your breasts or shoulders" (Gibbon, chap. lviii.). They put the cross on their right shoulders, because there Christ carried his. Some cut the sign into their flesh: among these were women and children. Fanaticism was the dominant note, but "avarice, ambition, and lust cooperated with faith." The pope granted the Crusaders a plenary indulgence. "At the voice of their pastor, the robber, the incendiary, the homicide,

arose by thousands to redeem their souls by repeating on the infidels the same deeds which they had exercised against their Christian brethren" (ibid.). "The Crusades originated in the wild but uninstructed fanaticism of the age. The great impetus they conferred on the aspirations of the Roman See was speedily discovered. The ferocity stimulated against Saracens was easily directed with augmented fury against alleged heretics within Christendom. The prospect of unlimited plunder excited greed. The taking of the cross became a duty which every prince and peer, and every renegade, murderer, and vagabond also owed to church and country for the expiation of crime. A certain number of years of crusading became the recognized penalty for the most heinous offenses, and Palestine was formally constituted the Botany Bay of Europe. By a strange mixture and confusion of ideas the service of the cross was made a punishment for malefactors; and the hewing down of Saracens assumed the same recognized status as picking oakum, or rolling shot. The white cross worn on the loose robe was as much the outward sign of a condemned malefactor as striped pantaloons, or a checkered coat, in modern days" (R. H. Vickers, "Hist. of Bohemia," 195-96). The crusader was free from suits for his debts while in service, and had many other privileges granted him by the state (Hallam, i., 35). The church remitted penances, abolished sins, promised eternal felicity, wrought miracles, and prophesied alluringly. After this, the horrors and abominations of the Crusades can surprise no one. "Women appeared in arms in the midst of warriors; prostitution

not being forgotten among the austerities of penance" (Hallam, i., 59). "The moral fabric of Europe was convulsed; the relations and charities of life were broken; society appeared to be dissolved" (Mills, i., 59).

The first wave of the first Crusade swept through Hungary into Bulgaria, twenty thousand strong. The Bulgarian Christians looked upon them as savages and invaders, and refused supplies. They attacked the Bulgarians, but were almost exterminated, only the leader and a few associates escaping to Constantinople. Then came Peter the Hermit and avenged them by slaughtering seven thousand of the inhabitants of Malleville, his men abandoning themselves to "every species of grossness and libertinism" (Mills, i., 67). Whipped out of Bulgaria, the scanty remnant finally reached Constantinople, where the Greek Christian emperor gave them provisions but told them to remain in Greece. As soon as they recovered strength they "repaid his generosity by deeds of flagitiousness on his people. Palaces and churches were plundered to afford them means of intoxication and excess" (ibid., i., 70). "They committed crimes which made nature shudder" (Michaud, i., 73). Children were killed at the breast, their limbs scattered in the air; the Turkish garrison of Xerigord slaughtered. Then came more Turks. Some crusaders professed Islamism, the rest were exterminated. The third wave was led by Godeschal, a German monk. It was composed of the "most stupid and savage refuse of the people." They forgot their mission "in tumultuous scenes of debauchery; and pillage, violation, and murder were everywhere

left as the traces of their passage" (Mills, i., 68). The horrible outrages drove the Hungarians to arms, and that was the last of Godeschal's rabble. Only a few escaped death. The fourth division came out of England, France, Flanders, and Lorraine. "Mills calls them 'another herd of wild and desperate savages.' Their leaders were a goat and a goose, who were thought to be inspired by the Holy Ghost" (C. of C., 182). They fell upon the defenseless Jews, murdering thousands in the German towns, robbing and outraging. At Memsburg an Hungarian army wiped the mob out of existence. Thus 300,000 had perished, mostly at the hands of their fellow-Christians, before they had accomplished anything.

The next year the movement was better organized. The princes led. Nobles disposed of their estates for arms and equipments. The clergy were the chief buyers, thus showing, again, that priests are more thrifty than common secular lovers of the Lord. Godfrey of Bouillon led this host of seven hundred thousand. In Pelagonia they burned a castle filled with heretics. In Greece they maimed and disfigured the peasants they caught. Arrived at Antioch they invested the city. They had devastated the country and had to eat their horses, reducing the cavalry from 100,000 to two thousand. Then they resorted to cannibalism, as they did subsequently at the siege of Marra. "Seldom does the history of profane wars display such scenes of intemperance and prostitution" as were seen at the siege of Antioch. At last the city fell through treachery. Ten thousand or more, without regard to sex or age, were massacred the first night.

Wholesale robbery, rape, and drunkenness followed. Famine came again. Kerboga invested the city, while the citadel also remained in possession of the Mohammedans. The Christians rebuked God for deserting them. But Peter Bartholemy "found" the lance-head that pierced the side of Christ and the fanatics followed it in a sortie and annihilated the enemy. Still doubt came; Peter was submitted to the ordeal of fire, and he died. They quarreled among themselves; the unburied corpses bred a plague which carried off a hundred thousand. They moved on and captured Marra, butchering all the inhabitants, and eating their flesh. They were now reduced to forty thousand, half of them fighting men. In 1098 the Venitian and Pisan contingents got into a petty quarrel at Rhodes over the bones of St. Nicholas, on the island of San Nicolo. They went to fighting, and the Venitians captured twenty Pisan galleys, and took 5,000 prisoners.

Godfrey and his army took Jerusalem by storm on Good Friday. No mercy was shown. The slaughter lasted for days; the streets ran with blood; the Jews were burned in their synagogue. Ten thousand people perished in the mosque of Omar, the blood under the portico rising to the horses' bridles. Seventy thousand Moslems were slaughtered. "The mutilated carcasses were hurried by the torrents of blood into the court; dis-severed arms and hands floated into the current that carried them into contact with bodies to which they had not belonged" (Mills, i., 253). Then came religious devotions, after which the slaughter was resumed; prisoners to whom Tancred had promised safety were deliberately murdered, and

the conquered people were "dragged into the public places, and slain as victims. Women with children at the breast, girls and boys, all were slaughtered" (ibid., i., 258). Michaud says that contemporary Christian historians describe all this with perfect equanimity. Public and private wealth was seized by the Christian soldiers. A feudal kingdom was established. "Its jurisprudence included trial by battle, and its social economy included villains and slaves" (C. of C., 194). Baldwin succeeded Godfrey as King of Jerusalem; and when he captured Cesarea, the inhabitants were all slaughtered. The garrison at Ptolemais surrendered, after brave resistance, on honorable terms; the Christians "paid no respect to the capitulation, and massacred without pity a disarmed and defenseless people" (Michaud, i., 286). Superstition was everywhere; treaties with the Moslems were waste parchment—faith with infidels must not be kept—vice was as prevalent as piety. When they heard of the recovery of the holy sepulchre, Germany, Italy, and France sent 400,000 more men into Asia Minor, where they quickly went down under sword, disease and starvation.

St. Bernard preached the second Crusade. By his own boast, he depopulated the towns of able-bodied men. He was a marvelous miracle worker. With this Crusade went Louis VII. of France and the Emperor of Germany, each commanding more than 70,000 troops. Many women went with both armies, and there was a troop of Amazons. In 1212 a shepherd boy in Vendome recruited armies of girls and boys. Reaching Marseilles, where they expected the sea would open for their passage,

"they were plundered and murdered by older Christians"; some were sold into slavery and concubinage. Twenty-five years later the movement was revived, and thousands of children were sacrificed to delusion. The expedition of Louis and Conrad was a flat failure, unless the killing off of a large number of besottedly ignorant Christians can be considered a gain. Saladin was now coming to the front. He defeated the Christians at Tiberius in July, 1187, and then marched on Jerusalem, which he captured. There was no massacre; the Greek and Oriental Christians were not disturbed, but the Latins and Franks were ordered to leave, upon payment of a comparatively light ransom, for failure to pay which they would be enslaved. Saladin and Malek Adel each paid the ransoms of thousands of the poorest themselves. But when the refugees reached Antioch, the Christian Bohemond denied them hospitality, and stripped them. Going to the Saracens, they were well received.

A bull for the third Crusade was issued by Gregory VIII. The leaders were Frederick Barbarossa, of Germany; Philip Augustus, of France, and Richard Coeur de Lion, of England. Hundreds of thousands were enrolled. A tax, called the "Saladine tenth," was assessed for the expenses of the expedition. This was the basis of all the tithes and tenths that in subsequent centuries enriched the church. The Crusade was practically fruitless. Barbarossa was drowned. Richard, on his way home, was seized by his fellow-crusader, the Duke of Austria, and released only on payment of a prodigious ransom. Open debauchery, perfidy, and



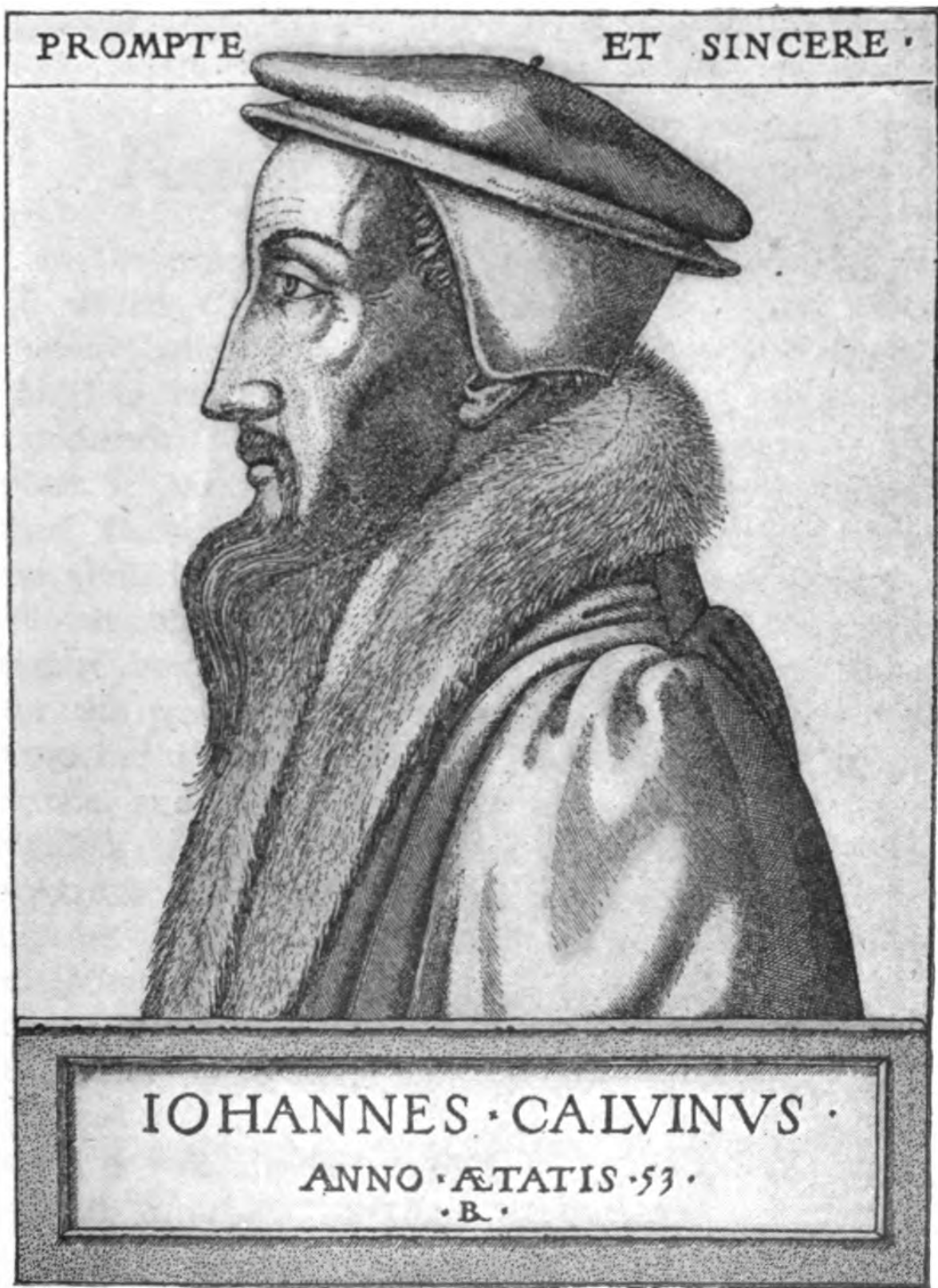
murder characterized this as all the other crusades. After the capture of Acre, Saladin agreed to give two hundred thousand pieces of gold for the prisoners held by Richard. A slight delay made the Christians savage and so two thousand five hundred Saracens were marched outside the walls and butchered under the eyes of the Moslems. "With a superstition equally cruel and fierce, the Christians searched the carcasses of the murdered Turks for golden byzants, and converted the gall which was found in their dead bodies into medicine" (Sir J. Mackintosh, "Hist. of England," i., 184). Saladin, instead of revenging this cowardly barbarity, "sent back his prisoners unharmed." Less than one hundred thousand of the six hundred thousand of this Christian army returned.

The fourth Crusade, promoted by Pope Celestine III., was a failure. In connection with the vicious actions of these crusaders, Michaud says (ii., 31): "The vices and disorders of the Crusades were so disgraceful that the authors of the old chronicles blush while they retrace the pictures of them." In 1200 Innocent III. ordered a fifth Crusade. This Crusade directed itself against Constantinople, the capital of a Christian empire. It was ruthlessly sacked. "The scenes of female violation need not be described" (Mills, ii., 192). "Pope Innocent III. accuses the pilgrims of respecting, in their lust, neither age, nor sex, nor religious profession; and bitterly laments that the deeds of darkness, fornication, adultery, and incest, were perpetrated in open day; and that noble matrons and holy nuns were polluted by the grooms and peasants of the Catholic camp" (Gibbon, chap. lx.). The crusaders were

fiendishly cruel and wantonly destructive. "Villages, churches, and country houses were all devastated and given over to pillage" (Michaud, ii., 134). "A prostitute was seated on the throne of the patriarch; and the daughter of Belial, as she is styled, sang and danced in the church to ridicule the hymns and processions of the Orientals" (Gibbon, chap. lx.). Artistic treasures were destroyed or defaced, and priceless writings burned.

Robert de Courcon preached a sixth Crusade. "Women, children, the old, the blind, the lame, the lepers, were all enrolled in the sacred militia," says Mills. The dukes of Austria and Bavaria, and the King of Hungary were the principal leaders. They took Damietta by siege. When the Crusaders entered the city only three thousand of the seventy thousand inhabitants were living. Famine had done its work. At the Council of Spoleto, in 1234, a seventh Crusade was launched. Jerusalem was taken and held for a short time. The eighth Crusade was decided on at the Council of Lyons in 1245. At its head was Louis IX. of France, better known as St. Louis. In the camp at Damietta were witnessed the long familiar scenes of gambling, debauchery, robbery, and rape. "Louis was taken prisoner and afterwards ransomed, and most of his troops exterminated. Before the next Crusade the Templars and the Hospitallers fought each other, the red cross against the white. 'Few prisoners were taken,' says Mills, 'and scarcely a Templar escaped alive'" (C. of C., 206). The ninth crusade, in 1286, was precipitated by the capture of Antioch by the Moslems. St. Louis died of the plague at Tunis. Edward of

England captured Nazareth. Every Moslem was murdered. The atrocities were the same in kind as those which had signalized the taking of Jerusalem two centuries before. Gregory IX. could not succeed in starting a new Crusade. The Mamelukes captured Acre, Palestine was once more the Mohammedan's, the nine Crusades left the Christians with empty hands. There were several attempts subsequently to punish the "infidels." "These enterprises were chiefly stimulated by the popes, who not only profited by the Crusades, but found them an admirable expedient to stifle the growing spirit of heresy and inquiry" (C. of C., 207). One of these armies of invasion laid siege to a city in Barbary. Not knowing why they were attacked by those they had not injured, the inhabitants sent ambassadors to ask the Christians the meaning of the assault. The Duke of Bourbon and his subordinate leaders sent this luminously intelligent reply: "Those who demand why war is made against them, must know that their lineage and race put to death and crucified the Son of God, named Jesus Christ, and that we wish to avenge upon them this fact and evil deed. Further, they do not believe in the holy baptism, nor in the Virgin Mary, the mother of Jesus Christ; and all these things being considered is why we hold the Saracens and all their sect as enemies" (Michaud, iii., 117). The "Saracens" did not see the logic of this argument. "They only laughed at it, and said that it was neither reasonable nor proved, for it was the Jews who put Christ to death, and not they" (Froissart).



**John Calvin.**

## Persecutions by Protestants

In the preceding section some of the persecutions of which Catholics have been guilty have been shown; when we consider the fact that Protestantism has had the advantage of being a later development, that, relatively to the total number of years it has had an existence, it has much longer than Catholicism been brought into contact with the civilizing influences of Freethought and Science, we cannot fail to perceive that its crimes are as scarlet as those of Rome. It has not had the time nor the power to do as much wrong as Rome has done but it has not lacked the bigotry, the intolerance, and the domineering spirit of the old communion. Its distrustful and antagonistic attitude toward science will easily be understood from what appears of its record as transcribed in the section on Witchcraft; what it did in its hatred of Catholicism, and in its attempts to make all who professed its name think and act alike, it would take volumes to adequately portray. In the following pages it will not be possible to do more than give a brief summary of some of its offenses against freedom of thought, worship, and life.

Where matters of faith were concerned, Luther and Calvin were bigoted, intolerant, and heartless. They were as determined to crush out heresy by

means of physical terrors as the Catholic church was to crush their revolt. It was not against religious tyranny that they had protested, but against what they took to be religious error. Had they been as strongly opposed to Rome's cruelties as they were to Rome's "idolatries" they would not themselves have rivaled her in cruelty, to the full extent of their power. It is worse than useless to urge in their defense the plea that they were no worse than their times—that they merely put into effect the sentiment of their age; that nobody then knew what religious freedom meant. On the contrary, it is certain that even in that era there were those who advocated toleration, at least; who deprecated cruelty in propaganda, and who perceived the advantages that would result from decency in argument and mercy in opposition to heresy. There had been excommunicated from the Catholic church one Andrew Dudith, of Poland, on the charge of lack of faith in certain dogmas. It is clear that he saw the iniquity of persecution. Writing to his friend Wolff, he sadly asks: "Tell me, my learned friend, now that the Calvinists have burnt Servetus, and beheaded Gentilis, and murdered many others, having banished Bernard Ochino with his wife and children from your city in the depth of a sharp winter; now that the Lutherans have expelled Lacso, with the congregation of foreigners that came out of England with him, in an extremely rigorous season of the year; having done a great many such exploits, all contrary to the genius of Christianity, how, I ask, how shall we meet the papists? With what face can we tax them with cruelty? How dare we say, Our weapons

are not carnal? How can we any longer urge, Let both grow together till the harvest? Let us cease to boast that faith cannot be compelled, and that conscience ought to be free." Writing about the same time to Beza, the great Protestant leader, Dudith says: "I love liberty as well as you. You have broken off your yoke; allow me to break mine. Having freed yourselves from the tyranny of popish prelates, why do you turn ecclesiastical tyrants yourselves, and treat others with barbarity and cruelty for only doing what you set them an example to do? You contend that your lay hearers, the magistrates, and not you are to be blamed, for it is they who banish and burn for heresy. I know you make this excuse; but tell me, have not you instilled such principles into their ears? Have they done anything more than put in practice the doctrine that you taught them? Have you not told them how glorious it was to defend the faith? Have you not been the constant panegyrist of such princes as have depopulated whole districts for heresy? Do you not daily teach that they who appeal from your confessions to scripture ought to be punished by the secular power? It is impossible for you to deny this. Does not all the world know that you are a set of demagogues, or (to speak more mildly) a sort of tribunes, and that the magistrates do nothing but exhibit in public what you teach them in private? You try to justify the banishment of Ochin, and the execution of others, and you seem to wish Poland would follow your example. God forbid! When you talk of your Augsburg Confession, and your Helvetic Creed, and your unanimity and your fundamental truths I keep thinking of the

sixth commandment, "Thou shalt not kill'" ("Eccl. Researches," 592-93). That is a splendid castigation of false pretenders. In every age the religious tyrant has been and is a hypocrite. As the Protestant despots so cuttingly censured by Dudith tried to lay the blame of the persecution of those who did not accept their doctrines upon the civil magistrates, so the Catholics pretend that the Inquisition was a civil institution, and our modern theocrats defend the persecution of Adventists and tradesmen, who are robbed and imprisoned under Sabbath statutes, on the ground that the victims have "defied the law of the land," as though they, the theocrats, had not procured the enactment of said "laws," in the interest of their superstition and were not straining every nerve in the endeavor to have the legislatures and Congress adopt still more cruel bills of their drafting! What despicable and dangerous scoundrels religion does make of men!

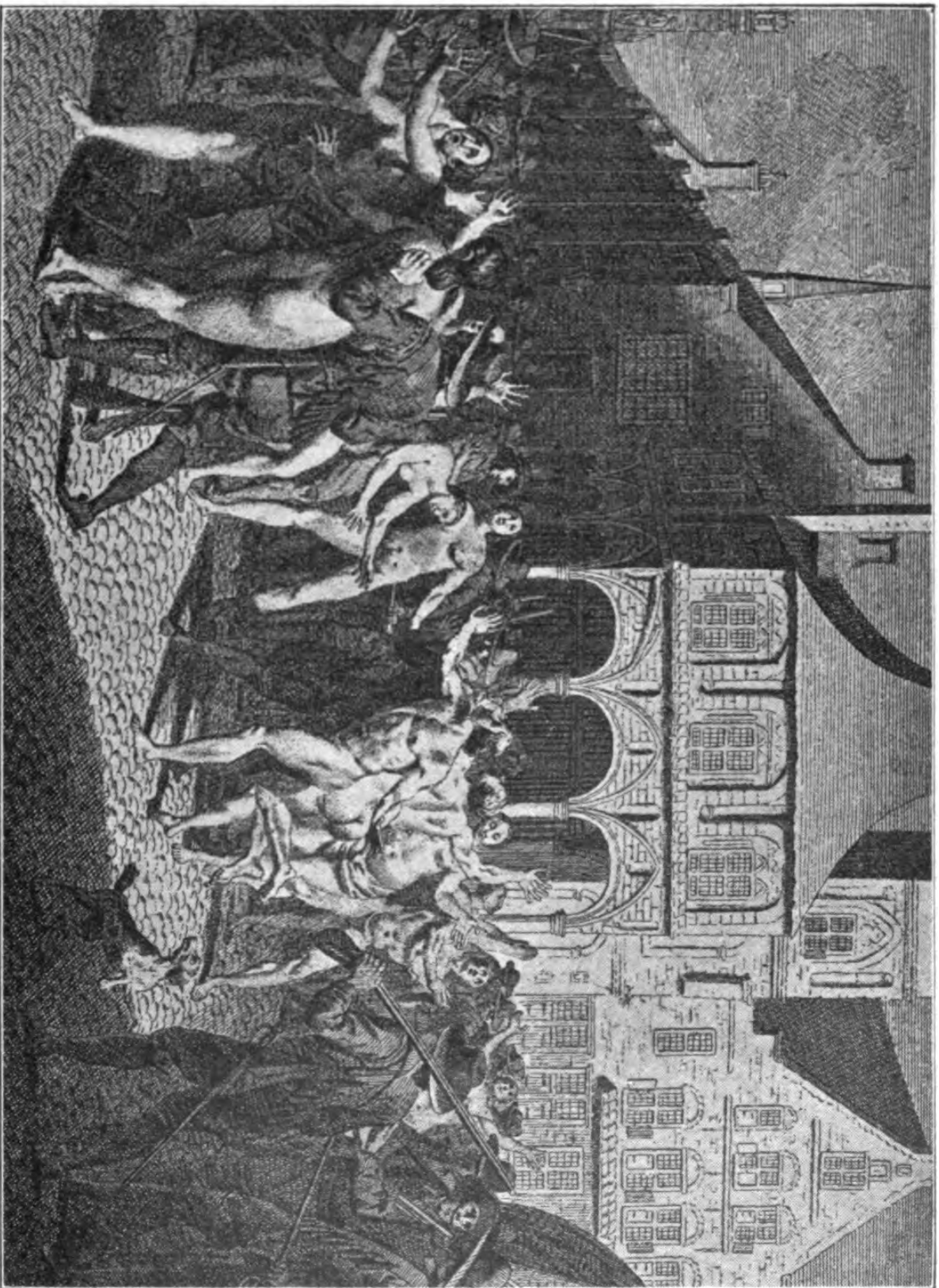
The Catholics had mercilessly persecuted the Lutherans in the Netherlands, and when the latter came into power they did what they could to prove that they had faithfully studied the lesson set them. The provinces of Holland and Zealand agreed to protect the reformed religion, and to do this in the usual way—that is, by forbidding the exercise of the Catholic religion. Diedrich Sonoy was made governor of a part of Holland. His atrocities were in kind equal to those of Alva. Men were arrested on suspicion and tortured until they confessed everything wanted, incriminating many influential persons in the province. For their false swearing they had been promised pardon for themselves, but Sonoy ordered them to be burned alive. On their



way to execution they recanted their confessions; nevertheless the men implicated by them were arrested, and two, Kopp Corneliszoon, and his son, Nanning Koppezoon, were put to the torture. Catholic ingenuity in the invention of ways and means to cause intense agony was eclipsed by the Reformers. The father was tortured terribly for a whole day, but when placed on the rack for a second day of torture he almost immediately expired, for he was old and feeble. "The devil has broken his neck and carried him off to hell," cried the baffled and enraged inquisitors. To partially satisfy their impotent vengeance he was hung and quartered. The son, a man in the full vigor of manhood, was subjected to a series of almost incredible tortures, after which, with his body singed from head to heel, and his feet almost entirely flayed, he was left for six weeks to crawl about his dungeon on his knees. He was then brought back to the torture room, and again stretched upon the rack, while a large earthen vessel, made for the purpose, was placed, inverted, upon his naked body. A number of rats were introduced under this cover, and hot coals were heaped upon the vessel, till the rats, rendered furious by the heat, gnawed into the very bowels of their victim in their agony to escape. The holes thus torn in his bleeding flesh were filled with red-hot coals. He was afterward subjected to other tortures too foul to relate; nor was it until he had endured all this agony with a fortitude which seemed supernatural that he was at last discovered to be human. Scorched, bitten, dislocated in every joint, sleepless, starving, perishing with thirst, he was at last crushed into a false confession by a promise of

absolute forgiveness. He admitted everything which was brought to his charge, confessing a catalogue of contemplated burnings and beacon-firings of which he had never dreamed, and avowing himself in league with other desperate papists still more dangerous than himself" (Motley, "Rise of the Dutch Republic," Harper's ed., iii., 29-31). But the false confession of Koppezoon and the solemn promise of his Christian tormentors did not avail to save his life. The governor sentenced him to death, ordering that "his heart should be torn from his living bosom and thrown in his face, after which his head was to be taken off and exposed on the church steeple of his native village. His body was then to be cut into four pieces, and a quarter fastened upon different towers of the city of Alkamaar" (ibid.). Gentle creatures, these Christians! When, on the way to the scaffold, Koppezoon recanted the confession he had made to escape further torture and in the vain hope of saving his life, a Protestant minister, by loud praying, endeavored to drown his voice. The governor himself furnished the rats that were used as instruments of torture, and Motley quotes a letter written to him by the commissioners, thanking him for the gift, and detailing for his amusement, in a very matter-of-fact way, the awful tortures inflicted on the suspected Catholic. It concludes with this stilted adulation of a monster: "Noble, wise, virtuous, and very discreet sir, we have wished to apprise you of the foregoing, and we now pray that God Almighty may spare you in a happy, healthy, and long-continued government."

"The Calvinistic tenets and form of worship were



**Arrest of the Anabaptists in Amsterdam.**

**The Anabaptists Walked Naked Through the Streets, Preaching their Gospel.**

re-established to the exclusion of those of the Catholics and Lutherans. . . . The cruelties practiced by the Catholics were equaled by those inflicted on the opposing party by the Reformers" (Menzel). Sonoy established a council that he seems to have intended to rival the infamous "Blood Council" of Alva and the Protestant historian, Kerroux, says frankly that it has "left an eternal stain on the Dutch name," and the crimes it committed cannot be read of "without a shudder of horror, and without feeling emotions of indignation and hatred." About ten years before the appearance of Sonoy there was an epidemic of image-breaking in the Netherlands—not the image-breaking that consists in the emancipation of human brains, but the image-breaking that takes the religious form of broken crucifixes, torn pictures, overturned altars, befouled shrines, sacked churches, and desecrated tombs. All over the country churches were despoiled and destroyed. It was determined to remove the last trace of Catholic worship. The church of Notre Dame in Antwerp was five hundred feet in length, and its spire pierced the sky as far. It was one of the grandest and most costly of the monuments of the mother superstition of the frenzied Calvinists who in a few short hours reduced it to a mass of shapeless ruins. "Three nights and two days long did the havoc rage unchecked through the city of Antwerp and the neighboring villages. Scarcely a work of art escaped destruction. It was as though a tornado had swept over the country leveling all before it. On every hand were the ruins of churches, broken statues, and torn pictures. The process was simul-

taneous and almost universal. It is difficult to say where it began and where it ended. The number of churches ruined has never been counted. In Flanders alone, four hundred were sacked. In Mechlin the work was accomplished very thoroughly. In Ghent, Tournay, and Antwerp the churches were all destroyed. In Anchin the despoilers were defeated, but in Valenciennes they devastated everything" ("Champions of the Church," 841-43). In 1581 edicts were published in Antwerp, Utrecht, and in other cities in the Netherlands, suspending the exercise of the Roman worship. Calvinism was made the state religion of Holland, and a war of persecution was waged against dissenters, Catholic and Protestant alike. The Protestant Arminians were suppressed; the Calvinistic Synod of Dort, 1619, decreed the most severe punishment against them; Grotius, Vorstius, Hagerbets, and Barneveldt were condemned, Grotius and Hagerbets to imprisonment for life. Grotius escaped, but Barneveldt was arrested and beheaded. "Seven hundred families of Arminians were driven into exile and reduced to beggary."

The Reformed church also fiercely persecuted the Anabaptists. The Anabaptists rejected infant baptism, and advocated immersion as the only effective form of holy bathing. Shortly before the convening of the diet of Augsburg, in 1534, Rothmann, one of the leaders of the Anabaptists, had openly preached in the streets of that city. He had won the people, who cried out to his opponents, "Answer Rothmann, Catholics, Lutherans, Zwinglians!" Luther and his friends answered Rothmann—in the old persecuting way. The Anabaptists were ex-

cluded from the diet, and Luther wrote to Melanchthon that they were "ravenous wolves," who harried the sheep-fold of Christ and "should be banished." At the same diet the consistent Luther demanded liberty of conscience, churches in which to worship, and the full rights of citizenship. He was the prototype of our Sabbatarians, who demand "religious liberty," while asking that laws be enacted to deprive everybody but themselves of liberty on Sunday. August 7, 1536, a synod was convened at Hamburg to take measures for the suppression of the Anabaptists. Delegates came from all the cities which had renounced Catholicism. Not one spoke for the Anabaptists. Even the "gentle Melanchthon" voted for death for all who should prove obstinate in their errors, or who should return from banishment. "The ministers of Ulm demanded that heresy should be extinguished by fire and sword. Those of Augsburg said: 'If we have not yet sent any Anabaptists to the gibbet, we have at least branded their cheeks with red iron.' Those of Tübingen cried out: 'Mercy for the poor Anabaptists who are seduced by their leaders, death to the ministers of this sect.' The chancellor showed himself much more tolerant—he wished that the Anabaptists should be imprisoned, where, by dint of hard usage, they might be converted" (Catrou, *ut supra*, liv. i., 224; Zudin, 464). This decree was issued: "Whoever rejects infant baptism; whoever transgresses the orders of the magistrates; whoever preaches against taxes; whoever teaches the community of goods; whoever usurps the priesthood; whoever holds unlawful assemblies; whosoever sins against faith, shall be punished

with death. . . . As for the simple people, who have not preached or administered baptism, but who were seduced to permit themselves to frequent the assemblies of the heretics, if they do not wish to renounce Anabaptism, they shall be scourged, punished with perpetual exile, and even with death if they return three times to the place whence they have been expelled" (see Catrou, Gastius, Menzel and Meshovius). That same year Luther wrote to Philip, Landgrave of Hesse: "Whoever denies the doctrines of our faith—aye, even one article which rests on the scripture, on the authority of the universal teaching of the church—must be treated not only as a heretic, but also as a blasphemer of the holy name of God. It is not necessary to lose time in disputes with such people; they are to be condemned as impious blasphemers." In the same letter, referring to a man who had denied the "doctrine of our faith," he advises this gentle treatment: "Drive him away as an apostle of hell; and if he does not flee, deliver him up as a seditious man to the executioner." "It is true that many Anabaptists suffered death merely because they were judged to be incurable heretics, for in this century the error of limiting the administration of baptism to adult persons only, and the practice of rebaptizing such as had received that sacrament in a state of infancy were looked upon as most flagitious and intolerable heresies" (Mosheim). In Zurich there was a place of imprisonment called the "heretics' tower." Swiss Protestants would put Anabaptists in sacks and throw them into the Rhine, remarking "That they were merely baptizing them by their own favorite mode of immersion" (Menzel).

The Calvinists were as intolerant of the Lutherans as the latter were of the Anabaptists. In some parts of southern Germany the Calvinists had gained the ascendancy and they drove out the Lutheran "sons of the devil." "More than a thousand Lutheran ministers were proscribed, with their wives and children, and reduced to beg the bread of charity" (Olearius). In Switzerland Calvin ruled with an iron hand. Audin tells us that the lady who arranged her hair coquettishly was to be imprisoned, as also her chambermaid; the merchant who played cards was confined in a jail; no one could have in his possession a cross or any other symbol of the Catholic church; to sell wafers was a finable offense, and the merchant's stock would be burned as sacrilegious; if a man kept his hat on at the approach of Calvin he was fined; if he contradicted Calvin he could be brought before the consistory and threatened with excommunication; all must eat meat on Friday, because Catholics had conscientious scruples against doing so; the penalty of disobedience was three days' imprisonment. In one instance a father was imprisoned for four days because he preferred a certain name for his child and the minister preferred another. For having "proposed an opinion false and contrary to the evangelical religion," Jerome Bolsec was exiled; Gruet was beheaded and his head nailed to a post because "he was suspected of being the author of a placard against Abel Poupin, and because letters ridiculing Calvin were found in his house"; Servetus, on the charge of being a sower of heresies, was kept in prison for two months, tormented with vermin, almost naked, and with little food, and then taken out and



burned slowly to death in a greenwood fire. This atrocious murder was sanctioned by even the "merciful" Melanchthon. Calvin published a treatise entitled, "A Faithful Account of the Errors of Michael Servetus, in which it is Proved that Heretics ought to be Restrained with the Sword." To this Castellio or Socinus replied; this in turn called out Beza and a host of smaller Protestant writers, who proved—with perfect ease, of course—that killing heretics was sanctioned by the Bible. They said that there was a special dispensation of providence in the case of Servetus, who might have escaped had he not gone to Geneva in disguise after his first conviction. "Calvin and other foreign divines had many tools in Poland, particularly Prasnicius, a violent orthodox clergyman. With this man, and through him with the nobility, gentry and clergy, Calvin and Beza corresponded; and many divines of Germany and Switzerland, and even the synod of Geneva, sent letters and tracts into Poland, all justifying the murder of Gentilis and Servetus and the necessity of employing the secular power to rid the world of such monsters as denied the trinity and infant baptism" (Robinson, "Ecclesiastical Researches"). The consistory of Geneva advised Prince Radzivil "to use his influence with the nobility of Poland, to engage them to treat the anti-trinitarians as they would Tartars and Muscovites."

There is nothing else so savage as religious rancor, and in that long and agonizing struggle between the Huguenots and Catholics in France both factions disgraced the name of man by their intolerance and inhumanity. In another section of



**Michael Servetus.**

this volume will be found a brief summary of the crimes of the Catholics, and here we give a few glimpses of the atrocious deeds of the Protestants. In the first instance we quoted extensively from Henry White's "Massacre of St. Bartholomew" (N. Y., 1871) and we go to the same impartial historian for the substance of the paragraphs that follow.

The Huguenots "in fierce invective were by no means inferior to their persecutors." And they, no more than the Catholics, stopped with words. They often defiled the churches and broke the images. "The cause of pure religion suffered much from the violence of these hot-headed partisans. At Rheims the 'Lutherans' ate meat publicly in Lent, broke the lanterns before the image of the Virgin over the great door of the cathedral, and prowled about at night defacing the crosses and pictures. One Gillet, a lawyer, drove a priest from a chapel, seized the alms in the poor-box, and gave the sacerdotal robes to his wife, who made caps and other articles of feminine attire out of them. At Rouen, when a Catholic priest spoke in his sermon of purgatory, the Huguenots called him a fool, and the children who had been trained for the purpose, imitated the amorous noises of cats" (91). Churches were appropriated and priests cruelly maltreated. In 1572 the preacher, Sureau, "was arrested for saying that it was lawful to kill the king and his mother, if they did not accept the gospel according to Calvin" (128-29). At the very moment [in 1561] that Beza and the French Huguenots were conferring in a "colloquy" at Poissy with the Catholic princes and prelates with a view to securing concessions

for the Huguenots from the Catholic government, the Protestants held a synod at which the pastors drew up a paper demanding "the exclusion of women from the government of the state"; they also "called for severe measures against 'Infidels, libertines, and Atheists.'" This shows their real spirit. It should be said that, as here used, the word, "libertine" means a believer in liberty, not a licentious person.

After the fall of Rouen, the Huguenot soldiers, exasperated by the cruelties committed there by the Catholics, "massacred all the priests they found in Pluviers." In Normandy at this time "both parties were equally violent, equally unscrupulous. They burned or plundered each other's houses and farmsteads. The neighborhood of Rouen became a wide waste, and the people were reduced to beggary" (216-17). In Lyons, in 1562, after considerable trouble, a treaty was signed by the Catholics and Protestants. "But the Huguenots do not appear to have kept to the spirit of the treaty, however faithfully they may have adhered to the letter. They committed devastations that would have disgraced the vandals. Churches were ravaged, tombs broken open, coffins stripped of their lead and their gold or silver plates; the bells were broken up, and the basilica of the Maccabees destroyed by gunpowder" (235). At Dieppe similar vandalism was committed. In small bands the Huguenots harried the adjacent districts. "We read of their dragging priests into Dieppe tied to their horses' tails, and flogging them at beat of drum in the market place. Some were thrown into the sea in their sacerdotal robes; some were fastened to a

cross and dragged through the streets by ropes around their necks; and, to crown all, some were buried in the ground up to the shoulders, while the Huguenots, as if playing a game of nine-pins, flung huge wooden balls at their heads. A few weeks after the war broke out, the Protestants of Bayeux rose against the clergy, committing the customary devastations, besides violating the tombs and throwing out the moldering corpses. They gutted the bishop's palace, and made a bonfire of the chapter library, then the richest in France. The priests and others who opposed them were barbarously murdered and tossed from the walls into the ditch" (240-41). At the same place in March, 1565, there was a still more terrible series of outrages committed. "Children were murdered in their mothers' arms." Men were hanged in their own windows. "Here, too, more priests were buried up to the neck, and their heads made to serve as targets for the soldiers' bullets; the priest of St. Ouen . . . was seized by four soldiers, who 'larded' him like a capon, roasted him, cut him up, and threw the flesh to the dogs. It would have been well had these deeds of brutality been confined to Normandy; but they were repeated all over France. One Friar Violeau died of the consequences of a barbarous mutilation. Other priests or Catholic people were killed by hanging, speared to death, left to die of hunger, sawn in two, or burned at a slow fire. All this happened in Angouleme. At Montbrun a woman was burned on her legs and feet with red-hot tongs. The lieutenant-general of Angouleme and the wife of the lieutenant-general of that city were first mutilated

then strangled, and their corpses dragged through the streets. At Chasseneuil, in the vicinity, a priest, one Loys Fayard, was shot to death after having his hands plunged into boiling oil, some of which had been poured into his mouth. The vicar of St. Ausanni was mutilated, shut up in a closet, and burned to death. In the parish of Rivières others had their tongues cut off, their feet burned, and their eyes torn out; they were hung up by the legs, or thrown from the walls. Other atrocities were committed which cannot be described without offending propriety" (241-42). So much for the mercy and tolerance of the Protestants, as manifested in a very few of the thousands of similar scenes of one only of the several wars between Catholics and Huguenots.

At Nismes on St. Michael's day, 1567, occurred a massacre of Catholics by Huguenots. Ranging in rank from the vicar-general down, between seventy and eighty Catholics were dragged into the old courtyard and butchered in cold blood. In September of the following year the streets of the city were again wet with Catholic blood. "In the country round Nismes forty-eight unresisting Catholics were murdered; and at Alais the Huguenots massacred seven canons, two grey friars, and several other churchmen" (278). At Gap, in the Upper Alps, the two parties came to blows, and "vied with one another in cruelty." "It was the same wherever the two armies marched. 'Our people,' writes Languet, 'burn all the monasteries and destroy all the churches they come near.'" During one of the most sanguinary disturbances Briquemaut, one of the Huguenot leaders, cheered his fo-

lowers on to murder, "wearing a string of priests' ears around his neck" (288). When Montgomery with the veterans of Bearn put down a Catholic insurrection in that province, "Orthez was stormed, and so many of the inhabitants were put to death without distinction of age or sex, that the river Gave was dammed up by the number of bodies thrown into it. The monasteries and nunneries were burned, not one inmate escaping—the total slaughter being estimated at 3,000. When the citadel was taken, every ecclesiastic who was proved to have borne arms—and the proof was none of the strictest—was bound hand and foot, and tossed over the bridge into the river" (308-09). "The Protestants of the neighborhood of Aurillac surprised that city, which in retaliation for the brutalities committed in 1562, they sacked and destroyed. They buried some Catholics alive up to the chin, and after a series of filthy outrages, used their heads as targets for their muskets. Four hundred persons were put to death, of whom 130 were heads of families" (310). Baron D'Adrets was a Huguenot chief who inspired terror by the mere mention of his name. "He would sometimes amuse himself by making his prisoners leap from the top of a tower, or from a high window, on the pikes of his soldiers stationed below." At the taking of Montbrison by D'Adrets the slaughter was awful; "more than eight hundred men, women, and children were murdered; the streets were strewn with corpses, and 'the gutters looked as if it had rained blood,' says a contemporary" (231-32).

"Remove all false worship and all monuments of idolatry," commands the Presbyterian confession of

faith. John Knox in Scotland did not neglect his duty in this matter; he obeyed the command as faithfully as he could under the circumstances. Preaching in Perth on May 11, 1559, Knox exposed the "idolatry" of the mass and image-worship so effectually that, at the close of the sermon, a boy and a priest got into a heated religious controversy, during which the priest knocked the boy down. Then the boy threw a stone which broke an image on the altar. The reformers seized this as a signal, and in a few minutes the church was in ruins—all of the paraphernalia of worship was torn down and trampled under foot. The mob next destroyed the monasteries—the houses of the Grey and Black Friars, and the costly building of the Carthusian monks. "Knox and his followers also despoiled the churches and razed the monasteries of St. Andrews, Crail, Cupar, Lindores, Stirling, Linlithgow, and at Edinburgh" (C. of C., 852). Of the destruction of the Abbey of Kelso in 1569, Hutchinson, a Protestant writer, says: "This abbey was demolished in consequence of the enthusiastic Reformation which in its violence was a greater disgrace to religion than all the errors it was intended to subvert." Writing of the Scotland of the seventeenth century, the clergymen's Scotland, Buckle shows that it was a sin to do any one of hundreds of perfectly harmless and necessary acts, even to sit in the doorway of one's house and enjoy the fine weather. "Bathing, being pleasant as well as wholesome, was a particularly grievous offense, and no man could be allowed to swim on Sunday" ("Hist. of Civilization," ii., 310-12). "The clergy deprived the people of their holidays, their





**The Puritan.**

shows, their games and their sports; they repressed every appearance of joy; they forbade all merriment; they stopped all festivities; they choked up every avenue by which pleasure could enter, and they spread over the country a universal gloom" (ibid., 314). Added to their exertions in this direction were their persecutions of dissenters and their abominably cruel treatment of "witches."

In Ireland Cromwell did what he could to make the people hate the very name of Protestant. He and his troopers sacked and burned houses and villages, burned the churches, and with them men, women, and children, as at Drogheda. By one Irish Parliament under Elizabeth "it was enacted that the Irish should be reformed after the model of the English church; but both the people and the nobility abhorred the change, and the new statutes were carried into execution in those places only where they could be enforced at the point of the bayonet" (Lingard, "Hist. Eng.," vii., 125). McGhee, in his "History of the Attempt to Establish the Protestant Reformation in Ireland," tells how Dermid O'Hurley, archbishop of Cashel, after having been vainly importuned for a year by the Protestant primate Loftus to abjure the pope's authority and acknowledge Elizabeth's, was taken on to Stephen's Green, Dublin (1583), fastened to a tree, his boots filled with combustibles, "his limbs stripped and smeared with oil and alcohol. Alternately they lighted and quenched the flame which enveloped him, prolonging his torture through four successive days. Still remaining firm, before dawn of the fifth day they finally consumed his last remains of life." In Kilmallock "were then taken

Patrick O'Hely, bishop of Mayo, Father Cornelius, a Franciscan, and some others. To extort from them confessions of the new faith, their thighs were broken with hammers, and their arms crushed by levers. They died without yielding" (ibid.).

For a summary of the laws that the Protestants made to govern the Catholics in Ireland see Bancroft's "History of the United States," v., 66. "The Catholic Irish, being disfranchised, one enactment pursued them after another, till they suffered under a universal, unmitigated, indispensable, exceptionless disqualification. In the courts of law, they could not gain a place on the bench, nor act as a barrister, or attorney, or solicitor, nor be employed even as a hired clerk, nor sit on a grand jury, nor serve as a sheriff or a justice of the peace, nor hold even the lowest civil office of trust and profit, nor have any privilege in a town corporate, nor be a freeman of such corporation, nor vote at a vestry. If papists would trade and work, they must do it, even in their native towns, as aliens." If a priest celebrated the marriage of a Catholic to a Protestant he was to be hanged. "Any two justices of the peace might call before them any Catholic, and make inquisition as to when he heard mass, who were present, and what Catholic priest or schoolmaster he knew of; and the penalty for refusal to answer was a fine or a year's imprisonment. . . . The Catholic Irish had been plundered of six-sevenths of the land by iniquitous confiscations; every acre of the remaining seventh was grudged them by the Protestants. No non-conforming Catholic could buy land, or receive it by descent, devise, or settlement; or lend money on it as the

security; or hold an interest in it through a Protestant trustee; or take a lease of ground for more than thirty-one years. If, under such a lease, he brought his farm to produce more than one-third beyond the rent, the first Protestant discoverer might sue for the lease before known Protestants, making the defendant answer all interrogatories on oath; so that the Catholic farmer dared not drain his fields, nor build solid houses on them." In the "Metropolitan Record" for March 12, 1859, there appeared a synopsis of other anti-Catholic laws which Mr. Bancroft has given at greater length in his "History." To economize space we quote here the shorter statement:

"If a Catholic schoolmaster taught any person, Protestant or Catholic, any species of literature or science, such teacher was, for the crime of teaching, punishable by banishment; and if he returned from banishment he was subject to be hanged as a felon. If a Catholic, whether a child or adult, attended in Ireland a school kept by a Catholic, or was privately instructed by a Catholic, such person, although a child in its early infancy, incurred a forfeiture of all its property, present or future. If any person in Ireland made remittance of any money or goods for the maintenance of any Irish child educated in a foreign country, such person incurred similar forfeiture. To teach the Catholic religion is declared a felony, punished by transportation. To be a Catholic monk, or friar, was punishable by banishment, and to return from the banishment an act of high treason, to be punished by death. To exercise the functions of a Catholic bishop or archbishop, in Ireland, is a transportable

offense, and to return from banishment, as such, an act of high treason, punished by being hanged and afterwards quartered by the executioner. If a Catholic wife declared herself a Protestant, she was immediately entitled to a separate maintenance and the custody of all the children. If the eldest son of a Catholic, no matter of what age, became a Protestant, he at once made his father a tenant for life of his own estate, and such son became absolute master of such estate. If any other child, younger than the eldest son, declared itself a Protestant, it at once became free from all control of the parent. Catholics were declared incapable of holding any commission in the army or navy, or serving even as private soldiers, unless they abjured that religion. Catholics were universally excluded from all offices under the state, and deprived of the right of voting at any election. Catholics were excluded from Parliament. If any Catholic purchased for money an estate in land, any Protestant might take it from him without paying a farthing of the purchase money."

The Reformation was introduced into Iceland by force, and the revolt of its Catholic people against it was put down by the troops of Denmark. The bishop was captured and put to death. Thus was Lutheranism established. In Norway the Lutheran was made the state religion, in the same way. No one not a member of the state church can hold office; Catholics, Methodists, and Quakers are alike banned. "In Germany at the time of the protestation of Spires, when the name of Protestant was assumed, the Lutheran princes absolutely prohibited the celebration of mass within their domin-

ions. In England a similar measure was passed as early as Edward VI. On the accession of Elizabeth, and before the Catholics had given any signs of discontent, a law was made prohibiting any religious service other than the prayer book, the penalty of the third offense being imprisonment for life, while another law imposed a fine on any one who abstained from the Anglican service. The Presbyterians through a long succession of reigns were imprisoned, branded, mutilated, scourged, and exposed in the pillory. Many Catholics under false pretenses were tortured and hung. Anabaptists and Arians were burned alive" (Lecky, "Ra. in Eu.," ii., 46, 47). When the English government manifested a slight desire to ameliorate the condition of the Catholic Irish, the Irish Protestant bishops assembled and issued a solemn protest against toleration as "a grievous sin" (ibid., 48). "In Scotland, during almost the whole period that the Stuarts were on the throne of England, a persecution rivaling in atrocity almost any on record was directed by the British government, at the instigation of the Scotch bishops, and with the approbation of the English church, against all who repudiated Episcopacy. If a conventicle was held in a house, the preacher was liable to be put to death. If it was held in the open air, both minister and people incurred the same fate. The Presbyterians were hunted like criminals over the mountains. Their ears were torn from the roots. They were branded with hot irons. Their fingers were wrenched asunder by the thumbkins. The bones of their legs were shattered in the boots. Women were scourged publicly through the streets. Multitudes were trans-

ported to the Barbadoes. An infuriated soldiery was let loose upon them and encouraged to exercise all their ingenuity in torturing them" (ibid., 48). But when the Presbyterians got the upper hand in Scotland they proved themselves no more tolerant than had been their oppressors. No priest could celebrate and no worshiper hear mass except under "pain of the confiscation of his goods for the first offense, of exile for the second, and of death for the third" (ibid., 49). It was declared to be an intolerable evil that the Queen was allowed to hear mass in her private chapel.

"In France, when the government of certain towns was conceded to the Protestants, they immediately employed their power to suppress absolutely the Catholic worship, to prohibit any Protestant from attending a market or a funeral that was celebrated by a priest, to put down all mixed marriages, and to persecute to the full extent of their power those who had abandoned their creed. In Sweden, all who dissented from any article of the Confession of Augsburg were at once banished" (ibid., 49). "The right of the civil magistrate to punish heresy was maintained by the Helvetic, Scottish, Belgic, and Saxon confessions. Luther, in reply to Philip of Hesse, distinctly asserted it; Calvin, Beza, and Jurieu all wrote books on the lawfulness of persecution. Knox, appealing to the Old Testament, declared that those who were guilty of idolatry might justly be put to death. Cranmer and Ridley, as well as four other bishops, formed the commission in the reign of Edward VI. for trying Anabaptists. . . . The only two exceptions to this spirit among the leaders of the

Reformation seem to have been Zwinglius and Socinus" (ibid., 50, 51).

The Friends, or Quakers, have suffered greatly at the hands of their fellow-Christians of the Protestant division. Sewel, in his history of the Quakers, says that in 1662 four thousand two hundred of that sect were imprisoned in England, either for attending meetings or for refusing to swear. (Although the Christians' "great teacher" is declared to have commanded his followers to "swear not at all.") "Some prisons were crowded full of both men and women, so that there was not sufficient room for all to sit down at once; and in Cheshire sixty-eight persons were in this manner locked up in a small room. By such ill-treatment many grew sick, and not a few died in such jails; for no age or sex was regarded, but even ancient people, of sixty, seventy, and more years of age, were not spared. This year (1676) died in prison John Sage, being about eighty years of age, after having been in prison at Ilverchester, in Somersetshire, almost ten years, for not paying tithes. And it appeared that, since the restoration of King Charles, about two hundred of the people called Quakers died in prison in England, where they had been confined because of their religion" (Sewel). Many Quakers were put on board ship in 1665 for transportation to Jamaica; a large proportion of them died on the ship of the plague which was then raging in London, and although eight thousand people died in London in one week, "the Quaker's meetings were still disturbed, and sentences of transportation still continued." Under the laws in force at that time, return after banishment during



its term meant death and the confiscation of all the property of the victim. As the priesthood shared in the plunder, it was inspired by both bigotry and avarice to harry the poor Quakers, to find "evidence" against even the innocent, and incite the civil powers to fresh cruelties. Henry Marshall, who had several benefices, remorselessly imprisoned Quakers for not paying tithes to him, and declared, from the pulpit, "that not one Quaker should be left alive in England." The Bishop of Peterborough said: "When the Parliament sits again, a stronger law will be made, not only to take away their lands and goods, but also to sell them for bond slaves." Justice Penniston Whaley, who had fined many of the Friends for attending their own meetings, said to the people at the sessions: "Harden your hearts against them, for the act of the Thirty-Fifth of Queen Elizabeth is not made against the papists, since the church of Rome is a true church as well as any other church; but the Quakers are erroneous and seditious persons." At the trial of William Penn, the recorder of the court expressed this opinion: "Till now I never understood the reason of the policy and prudence of the Spaniards in suffering the Inquisition among them. And certainly it never will be well with us till something like the Spanish Inquisition be in England." For all of these quotations see Sewel.

In New England the Quakers found just as cruel Christians as had persecuted them in the mother country, albeit they bore the magniloquent name of Puritans. In the colony of Massachusetts if one asserted that men are saved by works and not by faith, opposed infant baptism, or left the church

when infants were about to be baptized, he incurred the penalty of banishment. The denier of the infallibility of the Bible was for the first offense to be "openly and severely whipped by the executioner," and for the second he "might be put to death" ("Ancient Laws and Charters of Mass. Bay"; pub. in Boston by order of Gen. Court, 1814). A member of "a cursed sect of hereticks lately risen up in the world, which are commonly called Quakers," was punished under Puritan law with twenty stripes for the first offense; for the second, he lost an ear, or, if a woman, was severely whipped; the third conviction carried the same penalty for man and woman—the tongue bored through with a red-hot iron. Return to the colony after banishment, death (date, 1656-7). In Connecticut the Quakers "were fined, imprisoned, or banished; scourged, burnt with hot irons, their ears cut off, or hanged and their goods confiscated, at the caprice of a petty priest or hireling governor." In Massachusetts they were driven from town to town and into the wild forests among the Indians. When, in July, 1656, Mary Fisher and Ann Austin reached Boston, the deputy governor, Bellingham, had them brought ashore and imprisoned. On the pretense of discovering if they were witches, they were stripped, "and in this search," to quote Sewel, "they were so barbarously misused that modesty forbids to mention it." After five weeks they were sent back to England, the jailer having taken their beds and Bibles for his fees. Others who came a month later were kept in prison eleven weeks and then returned. To them John Endicott said: "Take heed that ye break not

our ecclesiastical laws, for then ye are sure to stretch by the halter." Then masters of vessels were forbidden to bring Quakers to the colony. When Nicholas Upsal, a member of the church, protested against the cruel treatment of the Quakers, he was fined twenty-three pounds; then imprisoned for non-attendance at church; lastly, he was banished, and although old and weakly, had to start in winter.

"In 1657 Anne Burden and Mary Dyer were imprisoned in Boston; and Mary Clark, for warning these persecutors to desist from their iniquity, was unmercifully rewarded with twenty stripes of a three-corded whip on her naked back and detained in prison about three months in the winter season. The cords of these whips were commonly as thick as a man's little finger, each cord having knots at the end. Christopher Holder and John Copeland were whipped at Boston the same year, each thirty stripes with a knotted whip of three cords, the hangman measuring his ground and fetching the strokes with all the force he could, 'which so cruelly cut their flesh that a woman standing by fell down for dead.' Then they were locked up in prison and kept three days without food, or so much as a drink of water, and detained in prison nine weeks in the cold winter season, without fire, bed, or straw. Lawrence and Cassandra Southick, and their son, Josiah, being carried to Boston, were all of them, notwithstanding the old age of the two, sent to the house of correction, and whipped with cords as those before, in the coldest season of the year" ("Champions of the Church," 868-69).

The law was made more severe in 1658. That year William Brend and William Ledra came to Newbury; thence they were taken to Boston, to work in the house of correction; declining to submit, they were starved for five days; then they received twenty strokes with the three-corded whip. Next they were put into irons, neck and heels all but touching, and kept thus sixteen hours; taken to the mill to work, Brend refused, whereupon he was beaten by the jailer "with a pitched rope till his flesh was bruised into a jelly, his body turned cold, and for some time he had neither seeing, feeling, nor hearing. The high priest, John Norton, was heard to say: 'William Brend endeavored to beat our gospel ordinances black and blue; if then he be beaten black and blue it is but just upon him; and I will appear in the behalf of him that did it'" (ibid., 869). In the same year John Copeland, Christopher Holder, and John Rous had their ears cut off. Following this John Norton and other priests petitioned for a law to banish the Quakers on pain of death, and the petition was granted on Oct. 20, 1658, by the court at Boston. Daniel and Provided Southick were heavily fined for not attending the meetings of their persecutors; to raise the money, their victims being poor, the General Court at Boston ordered the treasurers of the several counties to sell the Quakers to the English in Virginia or Barbadoes, for slaves. "William Maston was fined ten pounds for two books found in his house, five pounds for not frequenting their church, and three pounds besides as due to the priest." Soon after, more than a thousand pounds were taken from some who had separated them-

selves from the tyrannizing church. Thomas Prince, governor of Plymouth, said "that in his conscience the Quakers were such a people as deserved to be destroyed, they, their wives and children, their houses and lands, without pity or mercy" (ibid., 870). That is the kind of conscience that religious education makes. At New Haven Humphrey Norton was severely whipped, and branded in the hand with the letter H, for heretic. On Oct. 27, 1659, William Robinson and Marmaduke Stephenson were hanged. "As they approached the gallows the priest (Wilson) tauntingly said to Robinson, 'Shall such Jacks as you come in before authority with their hats on?' To which Robinson replied, 'Mind you, mind you, it is for the not putting off the hat we are put to death.' The persons who were hanged were barbarously used, even their shirts were ripped off with a knife, and their naked bodies cast into a hole that was dug, without any covering. And Priest Wilson also made a ballad on them. On the thirty-first of March, 1660, Mary Dyer was sentenced to death by Endicott, and the next day executed. William Ledra returned to Boston, was cast into an open prison, and locked in chains day and night, in very cold winter, and was sentenced to death and executed on the fourteenth of Jan., 1661" (ibid., 870, 871).

"Peter Pearson and Judith Brown, being stripped to the waist, were fastened to a cart-tail and whipped through the town of Boston. Joseph Southick also was stripped and led through the streets of Boston at the cart-tail and vehemently scourged by the hangman. The same day he was whipped at Roxbury, and the next morning at Dedham.

. . . At Dover, Anne Coleman, Mary Tomkins, and Alice Ambrose were sentenced to be fastened to the cart-tail and whipped on their naked backs through eleven towns, a distance of nearly eighty miles. Then, on a very cold day, the deputy, Walden, at Dover, caused these women to be stripped naked, from the middle upward, and tied to a cart, and then whipped them, while the priest looked on and laughed at it. Two of their friends testified against Walden's cruelty, for which they were put in the stocks. The women were carried to Hampton, and there whipped, from thence to Salsbury, and again whipped. William Barefoot at length obtained the warrant from the constable for their release, the priest, however, protesting. Not long after, these women returned to Dover, and were again seized, while in meeting, and barbarously dragged about at the instigation of Hate-Evil Nutwell, a ruling elder. . . . They were dragged by their arms nearly a mile through a deep snow, across fields and over stumps, by which they were much bruised. The next day they were barbarously dragged down a steep hill to the water side and threatened with drowning, and one of them was actually plunged into the water, when a sudden shower obliged the Christians to retreat. At length, after much abuse, these victims of orthodox barbarity were turned out of doors at midnight; and, with their clothes wet and frozen, were obliged to suffer the inclemency of a severe winter's night. Afterward Anne Coleman and four of her friends were whipped through Salem, Boston and Dedham by order of Hawthorne, the magistrate. Anne Coleman was a little weakly woman,

and, while she was fastened to the cart at Dedham, the executioner, encouraged by Priest Bellingham, struck her so savagely that, with the knot of the whip, he split the nipple of her breast, which so tortured her that it almost took away her life" (ibid., 871, 872). The before-mentioned are a few only of the many striking evidences which the New England Protestants, who fled from the Old World to escape religious despotism, gave of their intense and consuming love of liberty—for themselves!

The Puritans came to New England to establish a theocracy. The citizen must be a church member. They could not even trust to their own religious fervor to erect meeting-houses, so in 1675 it was enacted that meeting-houses should be built in every town in the colony. And it was ordered that the dwelling houses should be erected within a half-mile of the meeting-house. But the necessities of the farmers soon made this law a dead letter. "On the meeting-house green stood those Puritan instruments of punishment, the stocks, whipping-post, pillory, and cage; and on lecture days the stocks and pillory were often occupied by wicked or careless colonists, or those everlasting pillory-replenishers, the Quakers" (Alice Morse Earle, "The Sabbath in Puritan New England," 12). Among the duties of the church tithingman was the watching to see that "no young people walked abroad on the eve of the Sabbath"—Saturday night—the reporting of those who remained at home on Sunday during church services, and of the others who "profanely behaved, lingered without doors at meeting time on the Lordes Daie." These last two classes of offenders were first ad-

monished by the tithingman, then "Sett in stocks," and finally cited before the court. Of the so-called "False Blue Laws" of Rev. Samuel Peters, Alice Morse Earle says: "We must acknowledge that though in detail not correct, they are in spirit true records of the old Puritan laws which were enacted to enforce the strict and decorous observance of the Sabbath, and which were valid not only in Connecticut and Massachusetts but in other New England States. Even a careless glance at the historical record of any old town or church will give plenty of details to prove this" (ibid., 245, 246). In the various colonies people were fined, imprisoned, put in the stocks, or whipped, for fishing, sailing boats, sitting under an apple tree in an orchard, carrying a grist of corn home, allowing the grist of corn to be taken from the mill, for wringing and hanging out clothes, for attending tar-pits, for driving a yoke of oxen, for driving some cows a short distance, for gathering peas in the garden, for putting up hay, for picking apples, for wetting a piece of old hat to put in a shoe that hurt the foot, for riding, and for doing a great many other useful and harmless acts on the priest's day. "James Watt, in 1658, was publicly reprov'd for 'writing a note about common business on the Lord's Day, at least in the evening somewhat too soon.' " In 1656, Captain Kemble, of Boston, returning after a voyage of three years, was met on the steps of his home by his wife, and he was then and there guilty of the "lewd and unseemly behavior" of "publicquely" kissing her, for which crime he was set for two hours in the public stocks by the pious simpletons who then inhabited that unfortu-



nate section of country (*ibid.*, 246, 247). Vermont laws made riding, dancing, running, and jumping on Sunday punishable with ten stripes on the bare back. The ride swiftly to meeting was a crime, as was hanging over the gates on the Sabbath evening and talking with one's neighbors. Roger William, the Baptist, was banished from Massachusetts for his opposition to persecution, and his "heresy."

In many places non-attendance at public worship was fined; there were numerous sufferers under this statute, especially among the Quakers. In 1647, William Blagden, of New Haven, was "brought up" for absence from meeting. "He pleaded that he had fallen into the water late on Saturday, could light no fire on Sunday to dry his clothes, and so had lain in bed to keep warm while his only suit of garments was drying. In spite of this seemingly fair excuse, Bladgen was found guilty of 'sloathfulness' and sentenced to be 'publicly whipped'" (*ibid.*, 250). With the Puritans the Sabbath began on Saturday afternoon; Governor Endicott ordered the members of the New England Plantation Company to quit work at three o'clock Saturday afternoon "in order that they might spend the rest of the day in catechising and preparation for the Sabbath as the ministers shall direct." As is the case at the present time, these iniquitous statutes were buttressed in the gross superstitions of the people. "Winthrop gives the case of a man who, having hired help to repair a milldam, worked an hour on Saturday after sunset to finish what he had intended for the day's labor. The next day his little child, being left

alone for some hours, was drowned in an uncovered well in the cellar of his house. 'The father freely, in open congregation, did acknowledge it the righteous hand of God for his profaning his holy day'" (ibid., 255). The centuries that have passed since these stupid men made public exhibition of their folly, have brought no wisdom to the Sabbatarians of our age, who still threaten us with the judgments of heaven if we presume to work or play on the first day of the week, and who are striving to put into the Constitution a formal recognition of the god who, according to their idiotic theory, murdered this little child because its father did an hour's honest work after sunset on Saturday. It was convenient for the purpose of the royal murderer that the father was as careless as blasphemous, in that he left the child uncared for and the well uncovered. As regards Sunday laws, it is well known that men and women to-day here in New York, in Arkansas, in Georgia, in Tennessee, in Massachusetts, and in other states are persecuted just as cruelly for "Sabbath desecration" as were the victims of the Puritan fanatics in old Massachusetts and Connecticut. For acts just as harmless as those enumerated above men and women of to-day are fined and imprisoned and put in chain gangs by Christian ignoramuses and bigots, backed by state supreme courts and the federal supreme court. The Protestant Christian leopard has not changed its spots, and its instincts are as ferocious as of old, when science was a babe and Freethought was scarcely known. While Christianity lives persecution will persist.

In the colonial days men were fined, put in

prison and whipped for criticisms of the ministers and their sermons. "In Sandwich a man was publicly whipped for speaking deridingly of God's words and ordinances as taught by the Sandwich minister. Mistress Oliver was forced to stand in public with a cleft stick on her tongue for 'reproaching the elders.' A New Haven man was severely whipped and fined for declaring that he received no profit from the minister's sermons" (ibid., 259). "In 1631 Philip Ratcliffe, for 'speaking against the churches,' had his ears cut off, was whipped and banished." We of the first quarter of the twentieth century are not yet in danger of such punishments for abstention from church services and for heretical speaking, but who can doubt that the defenders of the exclusion of Freethought journals from the mails and the advocates of Sabbath, blasphemy, and press-censorship laws would willingly resort to such penalties for these classes of "offenses," and for non-attendance at church and the utterance of heresy as well, if less severe punishments proved ineffective for the suppression of opposition to Christian superstition and tyrannies? Our only safety is education, the spread of scientific information, the training of the human mind in inductive reasoning.

Not less in England than in America have latter-day Christians shown that the ancient fire of intolerance still smolders in the religious heart, ready to burst into devouring flame at the first breath of the wind of opportunity. The unscrupulous and vindictive fight made against the right of an English constituency to choose an Atheist to represent it in Parliament, as in the famous Bradlaugh case;

the avowed determination to suppress all discussion of vital social problems, as manifested in the prosecution of Charles Bradlaugh, Annie Besant, and Edward Truelove, the imprisonment of the latter, the suppression of the "Adult"; the prosecution and imprisonment of George W. Foote, W. J. Ramsey, and Printer Kemp on the ridiculous charge of "blasphemy"; the denial to Freethinkers of the opportunity to receive property by bequest to be used for Freethought purposes—all these instances of oppression, reinforced by many others, prove that in Great Britain the Protestant is still true to the dark traditions of his party; he hates heresy far more than he loves the fair play of which, as an Englishman, he is wont to boast. And the imprisonment in Switzerland of "Sabbath-breaking" Adventists; the persecution in South American states of Protestants by Catholics; the fierce war now being waged in the United States and Canada between Catholics and Orangemen, and the proscription of Freethought societies and lecturers in Austria, Germany, and Sweden, all help to exhibit both these great divisions of Christianity in as unenviable a light as that in which its persecution of the Stundists and other dissenters reveals the Greek church and the slaughter of the Armenians the religion of the Muslims. "Keep your children away from the priest or he will make them the enemies of mankind," said Kingdon Clifford. He cannot help doing this, for so long as he is a priest he must "take authority for truth, not truth for authority." His "truth" is the revealed dictum of a god, and what consideration may he receive who dares question God and his representative?

Truth is not a fixed quantity, it is not invariable in character; it changes every day as our knowledge of and relations with nature change, and to try to force our interpretation upon others is as foolish as it is tyrannous.

Education is the only emancipator. Delusion and error persist so long as the air and soil furnish them with sustenance. "They perish under the slow and silent operation of changes to which they are unable to adapt themselves. The atmosphere is altered—the organism can neither respond nor respire; therefore, it dies. Thus, save where lurks the ignorance which is its breath of life, has wholly perished belief in witchcraft; thus, too, is slowly perishing belief in miracles, and, with this, belief in the miraculous events, the incarnation, resurrection, and ascension of Jesus, on which the fundamental tenets of Christianity are based, and in which lies so largely the secret of its long hostility to knowledge" (Clodd, *Pioneers of Evolution*, 98),

# The Witchcraft Delusion.

**"Thou shalt not suffer a witch to live."—Exodus xxii., 18.**

**"Who maketh his angels spirits, his ministers a flaming fire."—Psa. civ., 4.**

**"But I say, that the things which the Gentiles sacrifice, they sacrifice to devils, and not to God; and I would not that ye should have fellowship with devils."—I Cor. x., 20.**

**"But the spirit of the Lord departed from Saul, and an evil spirit from the Lord troubled him."—I Sam. xvi., 14. Also verses 15, 16, 23, and chapter eighteen, tenth verse, and nineteen, ninth verse.**

**"The serpent was more subtle than any beast of the field which the Lord God had made."—Gen. iii., 1.**

**"There was a certain man, called Simon, which beforetime, . . . used sorcery, and bewitched the people of Samaria, . . . and to him they had regard, because that of long time he had bewitched them with sorceries."—Acts viii., 9, 11.**

**"O foolish Galatians, who hath bewitched you?"—Gal. iii., 1.**

**"Satan himself is transformed into an angel of light."—II. Cor. xi., 14.**

**"And devils also came out of many, crying out and saying, Thou art Christ, son of God. And he**

rebuked them, suffering them not to speak; for they knew that he was Christ.”—Luke iv., 41.

“There met him two possessed with devils, coming out of the tombs, exceeding fierce, so that no man might pass by that way. And, behold, they cried out, saying, What have we to do with thee, Jesus, thou son of God? art thou come hither to torment us before the time? And there was a good way off from them an herd of many swine feeding. So the devils besought him, saying, If thou cast us out, suffer us to go away into the herd of swine. And he said unto them, Go. And when they were come out, they went into the herd of swine; and, behold, the whole herd of swine ran violently down a steep place into the sea, and perished in the waters.”—Matt. viii., 28-32.

The foregoing are a few of the many passages in the Bible that were at once the chief source and sanction of the terrible atrocities which extended over several centuries and have come to be known, taken collectively, as the Witchcraft Persecutions. The devil, with his subordinate demons and the human beings who sold their souls to him, were supposed to be both capable and guilty of blighting the crops, causing the lightning, bringing destructive storms, withholding the rain, drying up cows, killing domestic and wild animals, turning people into wolves and other beasts, afflicting the nations with pestilence, famine, and war; causing all manner of diseases; bewitching men, women, and children; planting doubts in the mind and weeds in the field, and, in brief, doing about everything that was disagreeable to man in general, or that offended the priests as a caste. Among other texts,

in addition to those already quoted, which the Bible arrays in support of these gross superstitions, are the following which recognize the existence and power of "the devil": Mat. iv., 1, 5, 8, 11; xiii., 39; Mark v., 15, 16, 18; vii., 26, 29, 30; Luke iv., 2, 3, 5, 6, 13; viii., 12, 29; John viii., 44; xiii., 2; Acts x., 38; xiii., 10; Eph. iv., 27; vi., 11; I. Tim. iii., 6, 7; II. Tim. ii., 26; Heb. ii., 14; Jam. iv., 7; I. Pet. v., 8; I. John iii., 8, 10; Jude, 9; Rev. ii., 10, 11; xii. 9, 12; xx., 2, 10.

These passages speak as matters of course of "the devil and his angels," "devils," "spirit of an unclean devil," "a devil," "the devil," meaning the minor devils: Mat. iv., 24; viii., 16; ix., 32; xi., 18; xii., 22; xv., 22; xvii., 18; Mark i., 32; v., 12; ix., 38; xvi., 17; Luke iv., 33, 35, 41; vii., 33; viii., 2, 36; ix., 1, 42, 49; x., 17; xi., 14; xiii., 32; John vii., 20; viii., 48, 49, 52; x., 20, 21; I. Cor. x., 21; I. Tim. iv., 1; Jam. ii., 19; Rev. ix., 20; xvi., 14; xviii., 2; Lev. xvii., 7; Deut. xxxii., 17; II. Cor. xi., 15; Psa. cvi., 37. "Dumb Spirit": Mark ix., 17, 25. "Foul spirit": Mark ix., 25; Rev. xviii., 2. "Unclean Spirit": Zech. xiii., 2; Mat. xii., 43; Mark i., 23, 26; iii., 30; v., 2, 8; vii., 25; Luke viii., 29; ix., 42; xi., 24. "Spirits" and "Unclean Spirits": Mat. viii., 16; x., 1; Mark i., 27; iii., 11; v., 13; vi., 7; Luke iv., 36; x., 20; Acts v., 16; viii., 7; I. Cor., xii., 10; xiv., 32; I. Tim. iv., 1; Heb. i., 14; John iv., 1; Rev. xvi., 13, 14. "Seven Spirits": Mat. xii., 45; Luke xi., 26. "Familiar spirit," or "spirits": Lev., xix., 31; xx., 6, 27; Deut. xviii., 11; I. Sam. xxviii., 3, 7-9; II. Kings xxi., 6; xxiii., 24; I. Chron. x. 13; II. Chron. xxxiii., 6; Isa. viii., 19; xix., 3; xxix., 4. "Evil



spirit" or "spirits": Judg. ix., 23; Luke vii., 21; viii., 2; Acts xix., 12, 13, 15, 16.

"Witch," "witchcraft," "witchcrafts," "wizard," "wizards": Lev. xix., 31; xx., 6, 27 ("A man also or woman that hath a familiar spirit or is a wizard, shall surely be put to death; they shall stone them with stones"): Deut. xviii., 10, 11; I. Sam. xv., 23; xxviii., 3, 9; II. Kings ix., 22; xxi., 6; xxiii., 24; II. Chron. xxxiii., 6; Isa. viii., 19; xix., 3; Mic. v., 12; Nahum iii., 4; Gal. v., 20. "Necromancer," "charmer," Deut. xviii., 11. "Consulter with familiar spirits": Deut. xviii., 11.

"Satan," "the tempter," "prince of the power of the air," "prince of devils," "that old serpent": I. Chron. xxi., 1; Job i., 6, 12; ii., 1; Psa. cix., 6; Zech. iii., 1, 2; Mat. iv., 3, 10; ix., 34; xii., 24, 26; xvi., 23; Mark iii., 22, 23, 26; iv., 15; viii., 33; Luke iv., 8; ix., 18; x., 18; xi., 16; xxii., 3, 31; John xiii., 27; Acts v., 3; xxvi., 18; Rom. xvi., 20; I. Cor. v., 5; vii., 5; II. Cor. ii., 11; xi., 14; xxii., 7; Eph. ii., 2; I. Thess. ii., 18; iii., 5; II. Thess. ii., 9; I. Tim. i., 20; v., 15; Rev. ii., 9, 13, 24; iii., 9; xii., 9; xx., 2, 7.

Thus buttressed by the Bible and with the nearly entire current of church literature setting in the same direction, it is no wonder that the witchcraft delusion became one of the most appalling, if not the most appalling fact in the development of the Christian religion. The idea of diabolical agency in mental disease, the notion that one person could "bewitch" another, the belief that evil spirits and bad persons could conjure up tempests and destroy crops and cattle—these and all the allied concepts concerning magical agencies, had, in

one form or another, come into Judaism and Christianity from the earlier superstitions from which they had been compounded. But there is extant no other record of destruction and cruel slaughter growing out of such beliefs in supernatural persons and powers that can even begin to tell such a story of degradation and mercilessness as the record made by the Christian church. "Down to the Christian era the fear of magic rarely led to any persecution very systematic or very cruel. While in Greece and Rome laws were at times enacted against magicians, they were only occasionally enforced with rigor, and finally, toward the end of the pagan empire, the feeling against them seemed dying out altogether. . . . Moreover, under the old empire a real science was coming in, and thought was progressing. Both the theory and practice of magic were more and more held up to ridicule. . . . But with the development of Christian theology came a change. The idea of the active interference of Satan in magic, which had come into the Hebrew mind with especial force from Persia during the captivity of Israel, had passed from the Hebrew scriptures into Christianity, and had been made still stronger by various statements in the New Testament. Theologians laid stress especially upon the famous utterances of the Psalmist that 'all the gods of the heathen are devils,' and of St. Paul that 'the things which the gentiles sacrifice they sacrifice to devils,' and it was widely held that these devils were naturally indignant at their dethronement and anxious to wreak vengeance upon Christianity. Magicians were held to be active

agents of these dethroned gods" (A. D. White, "Warfare of Science with Theology," i., 382-83).

"Jesus believed in an arch-fiend, who was permitted by Omnipotence, the Omnipotence against which he had rebelled, to set loose countless numbers of evil spirits to work havoc on men and animals. Jesus also believed in a hell of eternal torment for the wicked; and in a heaven of unending happiness for the good. There is no surer index of the intellectual stage of any people than the degree in which belief in the supernatural, and especially in the activity of supernatural agents, rules their lives. The lower we descend, the more detailed and familiar is the assumption of knowledge of the behavior of these agents, and of the nature of the places they come from or haunt. Of this, medieval speculations on demonology, and modern books of anthropology, supply any number of examples. Here we are concerned only with the momentous fact that belief in demoniacal activity pervades the New Testament from beginning to end, and, therefore, gave the warrant for the unspeakable cruelties with which that belief has stained the annals of Christendom. John Wesley was consistent when he wrote that 'Giving up the belief in witchcraft was in effect giving up belief in the Bible,' and it may be added that giving up the belief in the devil is giving up belief in the atonement—the central doctrine of the Christian faith. To this the early Christians would have subscribed; so, also, would the great Augustine, who said that 'nothing is to be accepted save on the authority of Scripture, since greater is that authority than all the powers of the human mind'; so would all who have fol-

lowed him in ancient confessions of the faith. It is only the amorphous form of that faith which, lingering on, anaemic and boneless, denies by evasion.

“But they who abandon belief in maleficent demons and in witches; as also, for this follows, in beneficent agents, as angels; land themselves in serious dilemma. For to this are such committed: If Jesus, who came ‘that he might destroy the works of the devil,’ and who is reported, among other proofs of his divine ministry, to have cast out demons from ‘possessed’ human beings, and, in one case, to have permitted a crowd of the infernal agents to enter into a herd of swine—if he verily believed that he did these things; and if it be true that the belief is a superstition limited to the ignorant or barbaric mind—what value can be attached to any statement that Jesus is reported to have made about a spiritual world?” (Edward Clodd, “Pioneers of Evolution,” 54 to 56).

When Christianity seized the sword of authority the old laws against magic were revived and enforced with increasing vigor as the successive emperors were imbued less and less with the pagan spirit. As the centuries passed the persecutions became more and more extensive, more and more cruel. Here and there an ecclesiastic attempted to resist the march of persecuting superstition; now and then a physician or a philosopher tried to inculcate sound views concerning the causes of disease, or to put forth at least a little truth regarding the order of nature. Useless labor! All theological productions were saturated with the poison; literature, art, architecture, were full of it. “All the

great theologians of the church entered into this belief and aided to develop it. The fathers of the early church were full and explicit, and the medieval doctors became more and more minute in describing the operations of the black art and in denouncing them. It was argued that, as the devil afflicted Job, so he and his minions continue to cause disease; that, as Satan is the Prince of the power of the air, he and his minions cause tempests; that the case of Nebuchadnezzar and Lot's wife prove that sorcerers can transform human beings into animals or even lifeless matter; that, as the devils of Gadara were cast into swine, all animals could be afflicted in the same manner; and that, as Christ himself had been transported through the air by the power of Satan, so any human being might be thus transported to 'an exceeding high mountain' " (White, *Warfare of Science*, i., 384).

A few protesting voices were lifted in vain; "the current streaming most directly from sundry texts in the Christian sacred books, and swollen by theology, had become overwhelming" (ibid., ii., 103). Pope after pope set the seal of his infallibility upon the bloody persecution. At length came Innocent VIII. who, on the seventh of December, 1484, "sent forth his bull, *Summis Desiderantes*. Of all documents ever issued from Rome, imperial and papal, this has doubtless, first and last, caused the greatest shedding of innocent blood. Yet no document was ever more clearly dictated by conscience. Inspired by the scriptural command, 'Thou shalt not suffer a witch to live,' Pope Innocent exhorted the clergy of Germany to leave no means untried to detect sorcerers, and especially those who by

evil weather destroy vineyards, gardens, meadows, and growing crops. These precepts were based upon various texts of scripture, especially upon the famous statement in the book of Job; and, to carry them out, witch-finding inquisitors were authorized by the pope to scour Europe, especially Germany, and a manual was prepared for their use—the Witch-Hammer, *Malleus Maleficarum*” (ibid., i., 351-52). The Protestant Reformers zealously seconded the exertions of Rome to extirpate witchcraft; they felt that they must prove that they were as orthodox as the Catholics, and were as loyal to the Bible. “The Reformed church in all its branches fully accepted the doctrines of witchcraft and diabolic possession, and developed them still further. No one urged their fundamental ideas more fully than Luther” (ibid., ii., 114). Calvin, Beza, the Swedish Lutherans, Casaubon, Cudworth, Wesley, Richard Baxter, the Mathers—all stood loyally by Rome. They all thought, as Wesley expressed it, that ‘the giving up of witchcraft is in effect the giving up of the Bible.’ And they were right, in that respect. “With the coming of the Puritans the persecution [in Great Britain] was even more largely, systematically, and cruelly developed” (ibid., i., 360).

It is very evident that Dr. White does not agree that the translation of the Bible into the common tongues of Europe was an unmixed blessing, as we have been taught to consider it. Speaking of the growth of the witchcraft superstition, he says: “Under the influence, then, of such infallible teachings, in the older church and in the new, this superstition was developed more and more into cruelty;

and as the biblical texts, popularized in the sculptures and windows and mural decorations of the great medieval cathedrals, had done much to develop it among the people, so Luther's translation of the Bible, especially in the numerous editions of it illustrated with engravings, wrought with enormous power to spread and deepen it. In every peasant's cottage some one could spell out the story of the devil bearing Christ through the air and placing him on the pinnacle of the temple—of the woman with seven devils—of the devils cast into the swine. Every peasant's child could be made to understand the quaint pictures in the family Bible or the catechism, which illustrated vividly all those texts. In the ideas thus deeply implanted the men who in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries struggled against this mass of folly and cruelty found the worst barrier to right reason" (*ibid.*, ii., 115).

What Mr. White aptly calls the attempts of the Christian meteorologists "to build up under theological guidance and within scriptural limitations a sacred science of meteorology" resulted in the torture and murder of thousands of unfortunate men, and women, and children, but especially women. The Christian missionaries and clergy could more easily prove the supremacy of their deity than they could demonstrate the impotence of the "heathen" gods. The greater the miracles of the priests of Rome the stronger the faith of the people in the miracles of their ancestral divinities. So the Christians came to recognize the validity of the latter but ascribed them to the devil. The ancient pagan gods sank to the position of minions of the bad god of the Christians, Satan, the tempter. This, in brief, is

the genesis of the witchcraft delusion, in so far as it concerned the alleged ability of demons and possessed human beings to cause tempests, destroy with lightning, blast the crops, and sterilize the land. Both branches of the church firmly believed in the superstition. Luther even said that the winds are good or evil spirits, and he seriously asserted that there was a pond in his native province, the throwing of a stone into which would cause a terrible storm, because of the devils kept in confinement there ("Table Talk," also Michelet's "Life of Luther,"—Hazlett's trans., 321). Satan, as "Prince of the power of the air," was fought with prayers, exorcisms, religious processions, fetiches of various kinds, the ringing of consecrated bells, and penances. Processions and bell ringing are still resorted to in some Catholic countries, and Catholics and Protestants, in the rural districts alike, cling to the belief in the efficacy of prayer.

These foolish but non-invasive methods of trying to regulate the weather early became associated with others equally foolish, and cruel and murderous to the last degree. The church officially accepted the deduction that men, women, and children may act for the devils in bringing evils upon their fellows through storms, hail, floods, and the like. Pope Eugene IV. in 1437 and again in 1445 urged the inquisitors to be more relentless in their pursuit of "weather-makers," and in 1484 Innocent VIII. did the same, as already noted. So did Julius II., Alexander X., in 1504, and Adrian VI. in 1523. Put to the torture, the accused confessed to anything and everything that their tormentors wanted them to admit. The old pagan laws had not per-



mitted torture to proceed beyond "human endurance," but under ecclesiastical law there was the principle of "excepted cases," by which it was meant that those suspected of heresy and witchcraft must confess; they were to be tortured until they did confess. This made suspicion equivalent to confession and conviction. In the witch "trials" the victim must not only incriminate herself but her accomplices, or all whom she "knew" to be in partnership with the devil. She was bound to be tortured until she had given the names or described the persons of those she had seen at the "witches' sabbaths." Then they would be put to the torture and the process repeated. It was not in human nature long to bear the awful pain; soon the leading questions of the inquisitors would be answered as they wanted them answered. It would be incredible were it not attested by such a multitude of witnesses, that men could honestly believe that testimony so extorted had the slightest value. But it is indisputable that hundreds of thousands of human beings were sent to a cruel death on this utterly worthless "evidence." Incidentally, it was stoutly contended by the theologians that the damages resulting from storms should be assessed upon the property of condemned witches; the jurists were divided in their view, the weight of their opinion inclining the other way.

Whoever experimented in chemistry or studied physics was in imminent danger of the rack and stake as a dabbler in the "black art;" as it was universally believed that pestilences were due to the unholy machinations of devils and devil-possessed people, the occurrence of an epidemic was a signal

for the increase of the activity of the witch-hunters, and a more virulent pursuit of the unfortunate Jews, while insanity and epilepsy, being sure indications of bewitchment, brought their thousands to prison, torment and scaffold. Christian Europe was at once a mad-house and a hell.

The infection was everywhere. Germany, Spain, Portugal, France, Italy, England, Scotland, Sweden, and even America were scourged. Executions in some cities of Germany averaged for long periods as many as six hundred annually for each city. President White accepts as moderate the estimate that one hundred thousand perished in Germany from the middle of the fifteenth century to the middle of the sixteenth. For twenty-eight years the Stedingers, Frieslanders inhabiting the country between the Weser and the Zuyder Zee, struggled to maintain their independence against the encroachments of the Count of Oldenburg, the Archbishop of Bremen, and other rulers of the neighborhood. The Stedingers had a degree of civil and religious liberty much greater than was common in that age. They stubbornly resisted their enemies. The charge of witchcraft was brought against them. Pope Gregory IX. launched an anathema, and called upon the faithful to destroy them. The first crusade failed. Again the pope called upon the children of the church to arm and burn and slaughter. To the bishops and chiefs he wrote a great mass of nonsense, among the rest, this: "The devil appears to them [the Stedingers] in different shapes—sometimes as a goose or duck, and at others in the figure of a pale black-eyed youth, with a melancholy aspect, whose embrace fills their hearts

with eternal hatred against the holy church of Christ. This devil presides at their sabbaths, when they all kiss him and dance around him. He then envelops them in total darkness, and they all, male and female, give themselves up to the grossest and most disgusting debauchery" (Quoted by Charles Mackay, in "Memoirs of Popular Delusions"). The result was that the Stedingers, men, women, and children, were slain, the cottages and woods burned, the cattle stolen, the land laid waste. The pope's letter is a fair sample of the theological literature of the time; the slaughter of the Stedingers, an average illustration of the evangelistic methods of the church.

The popular belief of the witchcraft ages, a belief sanctioned by most of the learned men of the time, was that the earth swarmed with millions upon millions of demons. They multiplied by reproduction in the usual way, by the accession of the souls of wicked men, of women dying in childbirth, of children still-born, of men killed in duels. The air was filled with them, and one was always in danger of inspiring them with the air, of swallowing them in food and drink. Most Christian writers and legendists said that there were so many of them they could not be counted, but Wierus took a census of them and reported that there were only 7,405,926, divided into seventy-two companies, each commanded by a captain or prince (ibid.). They could make themselves hideous or beautiful, as suited their purposes, and assume any shape. While capable of appearing at any time, they preferred the night between Friday and Saturday. Any human being who gave up to them

his immortal soul could command their services for a certain time. Occasional general conferences, at the pleasure of Satan, took place, which were attended by the demons and all the witches. These "sabbaths" were held on the Brocken, or other high mountains. Upon the spot where they met, nothing would grow ever afterwards, as their hot feet burnt all the fecundity out of the soil. In France, England, and the American colonies it was supposed that witches made their aerial trips on broomsticks; in Spain and Italy it was believed that they traveled on the back of the devil himself, who, for the occasion, transformed himself into a male goat. On no account would a witch, when starting for a sabbath, go out through the open door or window; she would pass through the keyhole or up the chimney. While they were gone inferior demons assumed their shapes, and lay in their beds, feigning illness. Assembled on the Brocken, the devil, as a double-headed goat, took his seat on the throne. His subjects paid their respects to him, kissing his posterior face. With a master of ceremonies, appointed for the occasion, he made a personal examination of all the wizards and witches, "to see if they had the secret mark about them by which they were stamped as the devil's own. This mark was always insensible to pain" (ibid.), and it was the sure proof of witchery when found by the inquisitor. Any witches found by the devil not so marked received the mark from him then and there, also a nickname. Then they all sang and danced furiously. If a stranger came to be admitted, silence reigned while he denied his salvation, spat upon the Bible, kissed the devil, and

swore absolute obedience to him. Singing and dancing was resumed, a mythical formula being used in the singing. When tired, they sat down and told of their evil deeds; those who had not been bad enough were scourged by Satan himself with thorns or scorpions until they could neither stand nor sit. Then came a dance by thousands of toads who were conjured out of the ground, and standing on their hind legs kept time to the music Satan evoked from bagpipes or a trumpet. They could all talk, and asked the witches to give them the flesh of unbaptized babes for food. The witches promised to do so. The devil told them to remember and keep their word, and then stamped his foot and the frogs disappeared instantly in the earth. Next came a most disgusting banquet, except for a few of the most wicked witches, to whom were given rich viands on golden plates and expensive wines in crystal goblets. Then came more dancing; those who did not care for that amused themselves by mocking the sacrament of baptism. For this purpose the toads were again called up, and sprinkled with filthy water, the devil made the sign of the cross, and the witches repeated a formula as absurd as that used in ordinary baptism. Sometimes the devil made the witches take off their clothes and dance before him, each with a cat tied around her neck and another dangling behind as a tail. Sometimes, again, there were lascivious orgies. At cock-crow, all disappeared; the sabbath was over.

This condensed account of "the witches' sabbath" could not be omitted from the sketch of the witchcraft persecutions, for in the ages of faith the peo-

ple implicitly believed that all these things occurred; that each servant of the devil had upon her person the mark of her master, the place insensible to pain, and that when put to the torture the accused witch would reveal the proceedings of the sabbath and give the names of those who were there. Thus we see that the entire witchcraft jurisprudence was intimately connected with—it might be said, based upon—the belief in the reality of the witches' sabbath and the vile conspiracies against human-kind there devised. As many persons, especially the old women who were most often the victims of the witch-hunters, would naturally be more or less callous to pain in spots, it was not difficult to find the devil's mark. And even if it could not be found, the testimony of another witch under torture that she had seen the accused at the sabbath would be sufficient to send her to the stake.

The Knights Templar were extirpated in France in the beginning of the Thirteenth century, the charge that operated most disastrously against them being that of witchcraft. Just as absurd and revolting stories were believed concerning their secret ceremonies as were believed concerning the alleged doings at the mythical witches' sabbaths. The charge of witchcraft was a convenient weapon with which to destroy political enemies, who could not be reached in any other way, very much as the accusations of "obscenity" and "Sabbath-breaking" are now employed. Joan of Arc was one of the distinguished victims, and many men against whom a charge of "heresy" could not be sustained were easily disposed of by calling them sorcerers or

wizards; these charges never failed to do the work. In this manner a congregation of Waldenses at Arras were destroyed in 1459. Some under torture confessed that they had attended the witches' sabbath, and they also gave the names of prelates, mayors, seigneurs, and governors whom they had seen there. Some of these in turn on the rack confessed, when insane from pain, that they had been present and they gave in detail the articles of their agreements with Satan. So it went all over Europe. Millions of men, women, and children, were tortured, strangled, drowned, or burned on "evidence" that to-day would be accepted nowhere unless by a court and jury composed of the inmates of a lunatic asylum, if even by them. It is unnecessary to say that the more severe the persecution the more widespread became witchcraft. Every person tortured accused others, and whole communities went mad with grief and fear and superstition.

The *Malleus Maleficarum* was in general use, thus securing uniformity in questions, and, as a consequence, in answers. Had they had midnight meetings with the devil? Had they attended the witches' sabbath on the Brocken? Did they have familiar spirits? Could they raise tempests and bring down the lightning? Had they had sexual association with Satan?—these were some of the principal questions. Of course they were answered in the affirmative, for the rack gave the due emphasis to the inquiries. No amount of human evidence establishing the actual whereabouts of the accused at the time they were asserted by the witness on the rack to have been at the sabbath would avail; the husbands were told that they had

seen and held only the devil-created semblance of their wives—the originals were with Satan under the oak. Multitudes of women confessed that they transformed themselves into black cats; men gave the details of their adventures as men-wolves; in 1599 several girls in Germany swore most positively that certain witches had caused them to bring forth toads; men confessed that they had sent ships to the bottom when miles away, while other men and women admitted that they could turn the faces of people upside down, cause sterility in cattle, and by the aid of the devil do a thousand and one other impossible things. And all these offenses, when “confessed” or “proved,” meant death in its most horrible forms.

Grave and learned men argued seriously for the reality of lycanthropy. Why should not men become wolves now? they asked. Was not Nebuchadnezzar changed into an ox? And so the Bible found a new use in sanctioning another form of the witchcraft insanity. Large numbers of poor monomaniacs, and other unfortunates, accused, by good believers, went to the stake as were-wolves. Many accused themselves, as was common with those who suffered for other forms of bewitchment. One gentleman mentioned by Delrio was put to torture twenty times, but would not confess that he was a were-wolf, but when given an intoxicating drink he made the confession, under its influence, that his tormentors were bound to have. The confessions of tens of thousands of witches are to be found in the judicial records of Europe. One test for witchcraft was the tying of the thumb of the left hand to the toe of the right foot, and the thumb of



the right hand to the toe of the left foot, then wrapping the person in a blanket or sheet and laying him carefully on the surface of a river or pond. If he sank he was innocent—but dead; if he floated he was guilty and soon would be dead. Another test was the repeating of the Lord's Prayer; if the slightest mistake was made, the accused was guilty, and very few would fail, in their fright, to make mistakes, no matter how well they might know the invocation.

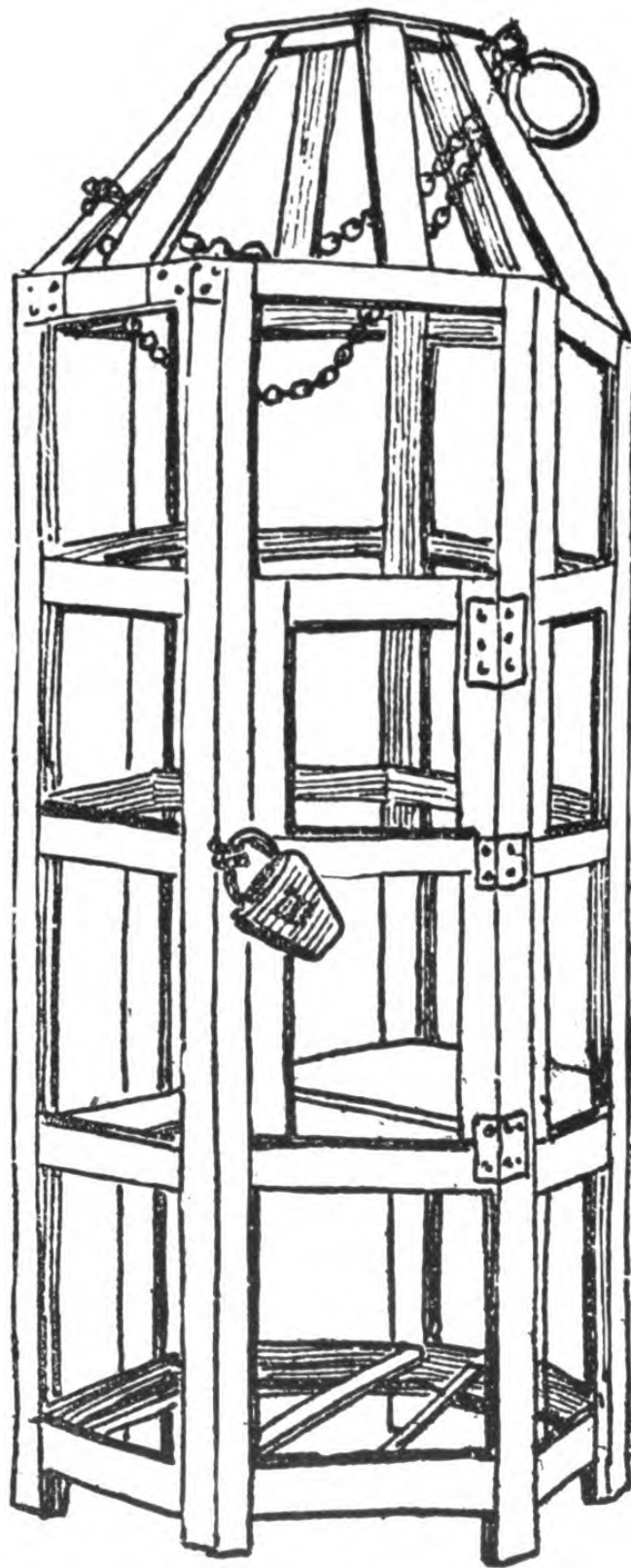
None dare openly antagonize the witch persecutions; the Jesuit Friedrich Spee grew old in his young manhood from witnessing the torture and death of scores of men, women, and children whom he, as their father confessor, knew to be innocent; he published his *Cautio Criminalis* as a warning, but not over his own name, nor in a Catholic town, lest it should be traced to him through the confessional; his friend, John Philip von Schoborn, who knew the secret of his white hair, prevented all persecutions when he became Elector and Archbishop of Mayence, but he did not venture to avow his real reasons; Dietrich Flade, rector of the University of Treves, and chief judge of the Electoral Court, a man of great influence and wealth, was accused of witchcraft, tortured into confession of all the absurd charges against him, and strangled and burnt, in 1589. These are typical cases.

Remigius, criminal judge in Lorraine, boasted that in fifteen years he had sent to death nine hundred persons for the crime of witchcraft (A. D. White, i., 358). At Leith, in Scotland, nine women were burned together in 1664; "the bishops' palaces of South Germany became shambles—the

lordly prelates of Salzburg, Wurzburg, and Bamberg taking the lead in this butchery" (ibid., ii., 75); in 1630 a great number of people in Milan—after having been tortured beyond endurance and confessing all that was required of them—were killed in the most cruel manner on the charge of having anointed the walls and pavements of the city with a diabolical unguent causing pestilence (ibid., ii., 75-77; referring to "Prccesso Originale degli Untori," Milan, 1839); the insane were mercilessly hunted and slaughtered, and their numbers in the ages of faith were far greater than at present; in 1692 twenty men and women were hanged or pressed to death in Salem, Mass.; Cumanus, in Italy, burned forty-one women in one province alone; in Germany five hundred persons were burned in 1515 and 1516; Bartolomeo de Spina says that in 1524 one thousand died on the same charge in the district of Como, and for several years subsequently, the number of victims exceeded one hundred annually; in France, about 1520, says Danaeus, the fires for the execution of witches blazed in almost every town; in one township in Piedmont there was not a family that had not lost a member; at Verneuil in 1561 five women were burned on the charge of having converted themselves into cats (Mackay, "Memoirs of Popular Delusions").

The witchcraft mania proper in England began in the sixteenth century and reached its climax in the early part of the seventeenth. The statute of Elizabeth, in 1562, recognized it as a crime of the greatest enormity. The delusion spread like an epidemic through the villages; many women were

murdered by the mobs. In Scotland the results were still more terrible. James VI. took great interest in all occult matters and wrote a work on demonology to refute the heresies of the few men of common sense who were trying to stay the tide of persecution. In 1591 it was charged that one Gellie Duncan was a witch. Under the torture she made the usual confessions, with some variations. Her admissions incriminated a number of persons, including some high in the social scale. Two years earlier James VI., then a prince, had gone to Denmark to fetch over his bride. Storms detained them in the harbor of Upsala. It now transpired, through the confessions of the tortured men and women arrested, that this storm was the work of the devil and his agents. Two hundred witches and warlocks had been in the habit of meeting the devil in the kirk of North Berwick, and had there plotted the death of the king. One night all put to sea in sieves and riddles and raised the desired storm, after which they returned to the kirk and held an awful orgy. One Cunningham called Dr. Fian, a man who professed to be a sorcerer, was tortured horribly, but he would confess nothing. Put to the torture of the boots, he still refused to speak, and finally became insensible. Partially restored to consciousness, he was induced to sign a full confession. Subsequently escaping from prison, he refused to admit his alleged confession when recaptured, whereupon James ordered him once more to the torture. His finger nails were pulled out with pincers, and needles thrust into the quick up to the eye; he was put into the boots and his legs pounded to a jelly, flesh, blood,



**The Ducking Stool Cage.**

marrow, and crushed bones commingling. Later he and several others were hanged and burned, while Euphemia Macalzean, the daughter of Lord Clifton-hall, was burned alive. This trial and the execution set all Scotland aflame, and the lairds and ministers "tried" and killed at their own sweet will. Mackay estimates that from the time of the passage of the act of Queen Mary to the accession of James, a period of thirty-nine years, the annual average of executions was two hundred, Catholics being the greatest sufferers, it being supposed that they were the chief emissaries of Satan. Torture was very freely used in Scotland. The persecution continued with unabated fury through the reign of James, the dominance of Cromwell, and the reign of Charles II.

During the dissensions of the civil war Matthew Hopkins and the lesser witch-finders, or "prickers," flourished. It was their custom to travel about the country thrusting pins and needles into suspected persons to find the "devil's mark," previously described. It was a profitable trade; Hopkins had his price for clearing towns of witches, receiving a fixed sum whether any witches were found or not, and an additional sum for each conviction. The beautiful business was equally lucrative in Scotland. A woman talking to herself was convicted and burnt on the testimony of a common pricker, who swore that she was talking to the devil, and that none ever talked to themselves who were not witches. In England Sir Matthew Hale, the great jurist, sanctioned the delusion, and passed sentences of death by burning, accordingly. In Scotland in the ten years immediately following 1649 more than

four thousand perished. The magistrates were so severe that the result was such that they could complain that where there were two witches to burn one day, there were ten to burn the next (Mackay).

It was alleged that it would never do to try alleged witches in the ordinary way; there would be no convictions; the full proof of these crimes was so hard to get that if the usual course were followed, said Bodinus, of France, in the seventeenth century, "out of a million witches not one would be convicted." "He who is accused of sorcery should never be acquitted, unless the malice of the prosecutor be clearer than the sun," he said. Henri Boguet, a French witch-finder, declared that a mere suspicion of witchcraft justified arrest and torture; "If the prisoner muttered, looked on the ground, and did not shed any tears, all these were proof positive of guilt" (Mackay). Cologne for years burned three hundred witches annually; Nuremberg, Paris, Toulouse, Lyons, and other cities two hundred a year each. In Wurzburg many children were burned, some no older than nine years. Children as young as five have been judicially murdered for this "crime." In Lindheim, a village of 1,000 people, thirty witches were executed between 1660 and 1664. In 1619 in Labourt, at the foot of the Pyrenees, there was an epidemic of these legal murders. The inquisitors alleged that the cause of the numerousness of the witches was the mountainous and sterile character of the country. They were mistaken—the trouble was the sterility of brains, not of the soil. Forty per day were brought to trial at the first sittings of the

commission; not five per cent. were acquitted. After two hundred had been hanged and burned, the number of accused did not seem to be lessened (Mackay). At the village of Mohra, in Sweden, in 1669, seventy persons were burned to death, fifteen children in one fire. Fifty-six other children were punished in a lesser degree. At this trial one of the commissioners gravely told how one night he had been afflicted with an agonizing headache, and he was sure that he had been bewitched; to produce that pain no less than a score of witches must have been dancing on the crown of his head. Then a poor witch, ready to die from the torture she had received, declared that she knew all about it—she had been sent by the devil “with a sledge-hammer and a large nail to drive into the good man’s skull. She had hammered at it for some time, but the skull was so enormously thick, that she had made no impression upon it. Every hand was held up in astonishment. The pious minister blessed God that his skull was so solid, and he became renowned for his thick head all the days of his life” (Mackay).

The twenty murders at Salem in 1692 were not the first of the kind in Massachusetts. Mrs. Ann Hibbins was tried by the Great and General Court itself, sentenced, and hung on the 19th June, 1656. “Goody Glover” was executed as a witch on November 16, 1688. Despite their sturdy resistance to oppression of themselves, and some excellent provisions in their “Body of Liberties” of 1641, as, for instance, the prohibition of “inhuman, barbarous, and cruel” punishments, of torture before conviction, and the sweeping away of the whole English

(feudal) system of corruption of blood, escheats, and forfeitures upon attainder for crime—despite these steps forward, the Christians of New England were very superstitious, bigoted, and intolerant. Like their fellow-believers of later times down to to-day, they did not understand their own generalizations, they failed utterly to sound the depths and recognize the implications of their own affirmations in favor of liberty of conscience. To illustrate: In the Laws of 1648, at the title “Haeresie,” we find these two mutually destructive affirmations in the preface: “Although no humane power be Lord over the Faith and consciences of men, and therefore may not constraine them to believe or profess against their consciences, yet because such as bring in damnable heresies, tending to the subversion of the Christian Faith, and the destruction of the souls of men, ought duly to be restrained from such notorious impiety, it is therefore ordered and decreed by this Court,” and then follows a list of the “damnable heresies” which are to be punished with banishment, among which are denial of the immortality of the soul, the resurrection of the body “or any sinne to be repented of in the regenerate, or any evil done by the outward man to be accounted sinne, or denying that Christ gave himselfe a ransome for our sinnes,” and including among those to receive this punishment all who “shall affirme that wee are not justified by his death and righteousness, but by the perfection of their owne workes, or shall deny the morality of the Fourth Commandment, or shall endeavour to seduce others to any of the heresies aforementioned,” or “shall either openly condemne or oppose the



baptizing of infants, or go about secretly to seduce others from the approbation, or use thereof, or shall purposely depart the Congregation at the administration of that Ordinance, or shall deny the Ordinance of Magistracy, or their lawfull right, or authority to make warre or to punish the outward breaches of the first Table." Lesser punishments were decreed against those who might "contemptuously behave" "towards the word preached, or the messengers thereof," Indians who "prophaned the Lord's day," and Indians who should "performe outward worship to their false gods, or to the devill." Could stultification be more complete? It was in this paradox-poisoned mental soil that the seeds of the pestilent witchcraft delusion found a congenial home, and all too soon grew into the heavily-burdened gallows trees of Salem.

"The Trials" took place before the illegal Court of Oyer and Terminer, appointed by Governor Phips, at the instigation of the Lieut.-Governor and Chief Justice Stoughton, and Joseph Dudley, formerly governor and the Chief Judge of the court which in 1688 had sent "Goody Glover" to her death on the gallows. "On the crimsoned balance-sheet of this infamous court, it stands charged forever with the murder of twenty innocent victims—without one single acquittal to its credit! It consigned one octogenarian to the torture and death of the *peine forte et dure* [Giles Cory, pressed to death] for defying its injustice! It rejected the one only righteous verdict of the jury, which declared an aged Christian matron 'not guilty'! There is not one redeeming feature in its history. The only assets left after its disastrous failure were the

cowardly confessions of those weak and wicked liars, who perjured themselves to destroy others or save their own worthless lives, and the undiminished and never-failing capital stock of selfish and heartless hypocrisy, which (after its kind), when called to account in later years, sought to disarm the resentment of man, and avert the wrath of God, by public prayers and fasting, without one thought of restitution which would involve any real personal sacrifice. The primary sanction of that dreadful tribunal came from the magistrates and ministers, but its necessary support had been in the madness of the people, the poisoned breath of the mob" (George H. Moore, LL. D., Superintendent of the Lenox Library, "Final Notes on Witchcraft in Massachusetts," 81).

It was not until their witnesses began to "cry out" against some of the most prominent of themselves, or members of their families, that the ministers and other leaders in the crusade of robbery and murder found it prudent to call a halt. "It was evidently seen, that there must be a Stop put, or the Generation of the Children of God would fall under that Condemnation" ("Magnalia," 1702; vi., 82). The vile witnesses "were upheld by both Magistrates and Ministers, so long as they Apprehended themselves in no Danger" (Calef, "More Wonders of the Invisible World," preface, vi.). Soon after the erection of the court, "authority found themselves almost nonplust in such prosecutions," says Calef, and "the Reverend Elders were called upon to advise and direct the action of the Magistrates, doubtless on purpose to overawe the malcontents who presumed to doubt or question



**The Witch on the Goat.**  
After a Copperplate Engraving by Albert Dürer.

the propriety of the measures in progress" (Moore *ibid.*, 76). It was in the home of the clergyman, Samuel Parris, that the fatal plant sprouted, and Calef quotes him as saying "We have been all or most of us of one mind for a time; and afterwards of different apprehensions." And Dr. Moore adds: "The substantial unanimity of the magistrates and ministers at the outset gave fatal force to the popular delusion, in which they shared and do not seem to have faltered until their own hearths and homes were invaded or threatened by the malignant spirits whom they themselves had armed with the power to destroy. It has been claimed that many in both these 'orders of men' were hostile to the proceedings from the beginning; but no record appears of any such opposition, and not a line or word of contemporary protest, or evidence that there was any, excepting the 'very high reflections upon the administration of public justice' for which William Milborne, 'the Anabaptist Minister,' was promptly arrested and held to bail, immediately after the first session of the Special Court and the execution of its first victim" ("Notes on the Bibliography of Witchcraft in Massachusetts," 3).

The attitude of the great body of the clergy was that taken by Cotton Mather, one of eager participation in the witch-hunt. Just as the reaction was setting in, after the last of the twenty wanton executions, while one hundred and fifty more men and women were in prison and hundreds of others were accused, "The Wonders of the Invisible World" was written by Mather. Stoughton, the Sewells, and others were privy to the nefarious enterprise. Here

is one sentence: "If in the midst of the many dissatisfactions among us, the Publications of these Tryals may promote such a Pious Thankfulness unto God, for Justice being so far executed among us, I shall rejoice that God is Glorified, and pray, that no wrong steps of ours may sully any of his Glorious Works." In one of his Diaries he quotes the warm commendations of several fellow ministers, one of whom says: "I solemnly profess, without ye least Adulation, I never met with an Humane Author in my Life that spake more solidly and thoroughly to the subject hee handled; and if every one that Reads do not close with it, I shall fear gross Ignorance, Inveterate prejudice, or a Poenal stroke of God is ye cause thereof." Dr. Moore makes this further quotation from Mather's Diary: "Before I made any such Reflection myself, I heard the Reflection made by others who were more considerate; that this assault of the Evil Angels upon ye country, was intended by Hell, as a particular defiance, unto my poor endeavours to bring ye Souls of Men, unto Heaven. When I have attentively considered this matter, it enflamed my Endeavours this winter to do yett more, in a direct opposition unto ye Devil." "In a sermon preached in the afternoon of the 20th December, 1691, he declared with reference to a former sermon of his: 'It seems the bloody Demons, had unto their vexation, some way learnt, what I was to preach about'" (Moore, "Bibliographical Notes," etc., 20). Increase Mather, the father of Cotton, was equally culpable. He had unbounded influence, but he did not use it in the right direction, and it was not until all the murders had been done and the cur-

rent had turned that he was heard to express "doubt as to the worst of the methods they had been pursuing. Increase Mather survived this witchcraft massacre thirty years, and his son five years longer—but there is hardly a word of regret or sympathy to be found anywhere, even in their private diaries and correspondence. . . . Prayers and fastings all around were the only panacea for the inhuman persecutions, robberies, and murders which had been so freely indulged. . . . There was hardly any form of atrocious violence and wickedness belonging to the whole cult of witchcraft which was not delineated in this miniature. It was the epitome of witchcraft whose ghastly records may be challenged to produce any parallel for it in the world's history. . . . If the 'Book of New England Martyrs' is ever written, its most impressive pictorial illustrations will be the scenes on Witch Hill in the afternoon of those later summer or early autumn days, with their awe-stricken and murmuring crowds of spectators, the calm and faithful resignation of the innocent victims contrasted with the fierce and triumphant pride of the religious fanatics who countenanced in person those murderous executions—Cotton Mather on horseback and Nicholas Noyes on foot, in that Aceldama on Witch Hill, the one pointing to the lifeless body of George Burroughs as not having been an ordained minister, and the other characterizing the whole array of the victims to whom he pointed 'swinging there as eight firebrands of hell.' In no part of the palimpsest of Massachusetts history, is more patience or greater skill necessary to discover what is hidden under the superficial work

of writers who seem to have made it their business to obscure the record and conceal the truth. A vague and indefinite sense of continuous responsibility seems to linger, as it has been handed down from generation to generation, with implied obligation if not positive injunction to frown upon every attempt to meet and answer the call to go out from the house of historical bondage" (ibid., 24 to 26). Charles Francis Adams, in his "Massachusetts: Its Historians and Its History," has forcibly entered a similar indictment against those who have taken it upon themselves to obscure the record while claiming to make it clear for all to read.

After the first execution the ministers of Boston and vicinity gave their advice, "ushered in with thanks for what was already done, and, in conclusion, putting the Government upon a speedy and vigorous prosecution according to the laws of God and the wholesome Statutes of the English Nation" (Calef, "More Wonders," etc., 153). The "statutes of the English nation" concerning witchcraft were much more drastic and cruel than those of the Province of Massachusetts, so we can see at a glance the merciful nature of the Boston clergy. In the Salem madness every legal guarantee of personal and property rights was ruthlessly swept away; the estates of the arrested were seized before conviction and their families were beggared before the noose of the hangman had encircled their necks; "Many, if not all, the seizures 'under the forms of law' were pure and simple robbery and pillage, with waste and destruction, having no precedent in the established practice of Massachusetts

in cases of crime [what, in the eyes of good Christians, was ordinary crime as compared with witchcraft?] but arbitrarily and most unjustly invented, adapted, or borrowed for the occasion. . . . It would seem that during the delusion, uncertainty was the condition of all things, law as well as gospel, legal rights as well as the obligations of Christian sympathy. Life, liberty, and property were all in jeopardy from an insane and ferocious fanaticism which had paralyzed humanity itself and converted a majority of the magistrates, ministers, and people into a grave, solemn, and professedly religious mob" (Moore, "Final Notes on Witchcraft in Massachusetts," 54).

Even the little children in their play were not safe from the meek and vengeful malice of the superstition-soaked Cotton Mather. "Recalling among other sins of the 'children of New England,' 'the lesser Sorceries,' said to have been 'frequent in our land,' 'Detestable Conjurations, with Sieves and Keyes, and Pease and Nails, and Horse Shoes and I know not what other implements,' he adds with unmistakable and hearty emphasis, ''tis pitty but the Laws of the English Nation whereby the Incorrigible Repetition of these Tricks is made Felony, were severely executed' ("Wonders of the Invisible World," 1693, 66-67, 151). What was the temper in which the awful penalties of the English laws against felony were invoked to punish the harmless pranks of heedless children?" (Moore, "Final Notes," etc., 56, note). As is usual, the injurer could not forgive the injured; Cotton Mather could not pardon his most illustrious victim. In an occasional sermon preached at Harvard College on the



6th of December, 1696, four years after the murders at Salem, there was "evidence that its author had not changed his position with reference to the witchcraft business, nor lost any of his bitterness against George Burroughs, the minister and graduate of Harvard College, at whose trial he had been present, and who had been hanged for witchcraft in 1692. Denouncing 'cursed Fortune Tellers' and 'Judicial Astrologers' and other 'Practitioners in this Iniquity,' and mourning 'that ever any person should dare to do thus in New England,' he adds: 'Time was, when the Air of New England was intolerable to such Vipers . . . and it deserves to be Lamented with tears of Blood, that ever any one that has had a standing in this Colledge, should be found in the number of those horrid Creatures'" (Ibid., 88). And the pious civilian, Stoughton, was no less malignant; when Governor Phips sent a reprieve for three condemned by the new Special Court and five sentenced by the old Court of Oyer and Terminer, the Lieutenant-Governor "was intraged & filled with passionate anger & refused to sitt upon ye bench in a Superior Court then held at Charles Towne" (Letter of Phips to the Earl of Nottingham).

A few words more about the case of Giles Cory, pressed to death: "Giles Cory pleaded not Guilty to his indictment, but would not put himself on Tryal by the Jury, they having cleared none upon Tryal, and Knowing there would be the same Witnesses against him, rather chose to undergo what death they would put him to. In pressing, his Tongue being prest out of his Mouth, the Sheriff with his Cane forced it in again when he was dying.

He was the first in New England that ever was prest to Death" (Calef, "More Wonders," etc., 106).

"That is, having pleaded not guilty to the indictment, upon being asked 'How will you be tried?' he would not reply, 'By God and my Country.' Sacramental importance was attached for centuries to the speaking of these words. If a prisoner would not say them, and even if he wilfully omitted either 'By God' or 'by my Country,' he was said to stand mute, and a jury was sworn to say whether he stood 'mute of malice,' or 'mute by the visitation of God.' If they found him mute by the visitation of God, the trial proceeded. But if they found him mute of malice, if he were accused of treason or misdemeanor, he was taken to have pleaded guilty, and was dealt with accordingly. If he was accused of felony, he was condemned, after much exhortation, to the peine forte et dure, that is, to be stretched, naked, on his back, and to have 'iron laid upon him as much as he could bear and more,' and so to continue fed on bad bread and stagnant water on alternate days, till he either pleaded or died" (Moore, "Final Notes," etc., 42, and referring to Stephen's "History of the Criminal Law of England," i., 298).

"The 'Magistrates and Ministers' of 1692, the chosen 'Orders of Men,' who engineered this witchcraft business, were the trusted leaders of the people. Habitually trusted without question by the great majority, whose weakness they thus betrayed into 'a state of affairs, hardly conceivable in any community of Englishmen out of Bedlam.' Do we think it strange that they were not themselves overwhelmed with remorseful shame and confusion

of face, or stranger still, that they escaped immediate judgment? Is it not strangest of all—

“That they managed, nevertheless, to cling to the advantages of position and authority they had gained?

“That they persisted in maintaining the superstitions by which they were fortified?

“That their chief, Stoughton, and his party, retained power enough to the day of his death, to repress any, even the slightest, motion towards redress and restitution, so that nothing of the kind appeared until after that event?

“That the same influences conspired to discourage the duty and frustrate the design, of every subsequent effort in behalf of the sufferers or their representatives?

“That whenever the rising tide of retribution became too great for resistance, it was conducted through channels of safety, skilfully contrived to protect those who were really responsible for all these calamities? And, finally,

“That, after the lapse of nearly two centuries, the penumbra of that ancient eclipse of justice still lingers . . . obscuring the vision and clouding the judgment of many to darken the record of History?” (ibid., 77).

Necessarily, this very short sketch of the Witchcraft Mania can give the reader only the most imperfect idea of the horrors of that awful epidemic of religious frenzy. It is not claimed to be even the briefest detailed record of the crimes committed in the attempt to fight the devil with fire; to frighten men and women from doing what they could not do under any circumstances. But the aim

has been to show what were the chief causes of the later Middle Age epidemic, and to indicate the methods of procedure of the ecclesiastical jurists of that unhappy time, and the habit of thought of the people, giving a few typical cases by way of illustration. We have seen that an infallible Bible, an infallible church and popular ignorance jointly produced this drama of unexampled anguish and horror. The moral is perfectly obvious to every thinking man and woman.

# The War Between Religion and Science.

About thirty years ago Prof. John W. Draper gave to the world his "History of the Conflict Between Religion and Science." Both the book and the expression furnished the clergy with material for a great many sermons, for much denunciation and many vigorous but vain protests. Later, Dr. Andrew D. White published his "Warfare of Science," and in the year 1896 it was enlarged into two octavo volumes and appeared bearing the title, "A History of the Warfare of Science with Theology in Christendom." President White's work is much fuller than Professor Draper's, its copious references to and numerous quotations from the original and rare documents appeal strongly to every careful student and propagandist, but its title is not so good as that of Professor Draper's work. It is a war between religion and science that each of the authors has described, and religion should be the first term, instead of science, as President White has put it, for religion was the first in the field, both as a historical fact, and as the aggressor against the scientific delver, who sought only for facts in nature, regardless of the guesses of the religionist. What is properly called religion has to do with alleged super-cosmical beings, states of

consciousness, and places of reward and punishment. Without religion there would be no theology. Primitive man did not understand the natural cause of shadows, echoes, and dreams, the birth and death of vegetable and animal organisms. Of this ignorance religion was born, and theology was evolved as its art of expression. In other words, theology is the nomenclature of religion. A dogma is merely a belief formulated. The scientific investigator and the Freethinker have to show the untenableness of the belief before the dogma can become discredited. So we perceive that it is inaccurate and misleading to say that the conflict is one between theology and science; the war has raged and still rages between religion and science. Destroy religion and its shadow, theology, must disappear.

The ignorance of primitive man was stereotyped in religion. In no other department of human thought has it been so difficult to rectify mistakes. To us of this age, the reason of this immobility is self-evident. We see clearly that it could not be otherwise while men believed that it was a mortal sin to question the sayings of the fathers, to doubt or deny the assertions contained in the sacred books. If the oracle was infallible, as Christians claimed the Bible to be, what prudent man would peril his immortal soul by opposing to its declarations the feeble emanations of his own fallible mind? If the Bible was the revelation of the perfect artificer of the universe, what could remain to be said? Nothing, answered the church, and the church was right from its point of view. Intellectual and ethical development must be eternally at

war with all assumed revelations from gods. Development is change, and change is not logically thinkable in connection with a being of limitless intelligence, virtue, and power. Miraculous creation and natural evolution are not to be reconciled as historical facts nor combined as interblending processes. Progress proceeds through division, that is, differentiation, in scientific phrase, and through variation. Says Prof. Lester F. Ward: "The tendency to vary is in all directions, as from the center towards the surface of a sphere, and variation will take place in every direction which does not prove so disadvantageous as to render life impossible." Hence there will be continual change in man and his environments. In the absence of absolutely prohibitive restraints, he will develop, physically, mentally, and morally. Hence, also, in the course of this development, in this substitution of the better new for the less true and useful old, he will be antagonized at every point by religion, for religion is from God, as is believed, and being from God is a revelation of unchangeable truth. To religion, change is heresy, heresy being the theological term counterparting the political epithet treason. This explains the fact that religion always antagonizes science, variation tending inevitably to constantly add to our stores of knowledge of the natural, while our knowledge of the so-called divine can be increased or changed only by disregarding and defying the fundamental principle of religion, revealed infallibleness. The condensed story which follows shows how this inherent enmity between revelation and investigation has manifested itself in the centuries' old conflict between

Christianity and Science, wherein in defense of the God-fixed boundaries of the domain of religion the Bible has been used as a club wherewith to beat out the brains of the explorers and surveyors of the peaceful army of Science. In tracing the outlines of this story, another excellent work to consult was published in 1897. It is the "Pioneers of Evolution from Thales to Huxley, with an Intermediate Chapter on the Causes of Arrest of the Movement." Its author is Edward Clodd, President of the Folk-Lore Society, author of "The Childhood of the World," "The Story of Creation," "The Story of Primitive Man," etc. In style and matter it is of the best, and it is its author's crowning work.

With his own hands God made the universe out of nothing, said orthodoxy. It got this idea from the ancient religions of Chaldea, Babylonia, and other parts of the East. He made it in six days. The Jew Philo, the Christian Origen, and a few others, were inclined to think that he spoke it into existence instantaneously, but the two theories were "reconciled" by the free use of theological solder. There was some disagreement as to the time of creation, the dates ranging from four to six thousand years before the beginning of the Christian era. Dr. John Lightfoot, Vice-Chancellor of the University of Cambridge, figured out that the job was begun and finished at nine o'clock in the morning of Oct. 23, 4004 B. C. Some thought that the Holy Ghost was the active agent in the work of creation, others that Christ was, but it was at last generally agreed that the other member of the Trinity did the job. Summing up this



belief, Mr. Andrew D. White says (i., 13): "Down to a period almost within living memory, it was held, virtually 'always, everywhere, and by all,' that the universe, as we now see it, was created literally and directly by the voice or hands of the Almighty, or by both—out of nothing—in an instant or in six days, or both—about four thousand years before the Christian era—and for the convenience of the dwellers upon the earth, which was at the base and foundation of the whole structure." Above the earth was the solid "firmament," above that "the waters above the firmament," and the "heaven," while below was hell. It should be said in passing that this is still the belief of the masses of Christians, of those "common people" whom we are told heard Jesus "gladly." But here and there was a thinker who faintly perceived another idea crudely wrought out by some of the ancient philosophers, the idea of evolution. This idea was born in Ionia. "Between birth and revival there were the centuries of suspended animation, when the nepenthe of dogma drugged the reason; the church teaching, and the laity mechanically accepting, the sufficiency of the Scriptures and the General Councils to decide on matters which lie outside the domain of both" (Clodd, "Pioneers of Evolution," preface, v.). Then came Bruno, Copernicus, Kepler, Galileo, Descartes, and Newton. Bruno was burned, Galileo imprisoned and compelled to repudiate his discoveries, Copernicus dared not tell the world while living what he saw, Descartes was terrorized, and Newton bitterly opposed. The telescope and spectroscope and spectrum analysis revealed the cosmic wonders and the composition of worlds;

the geocentric theory faded away under the light of the genius of the men named and their successors in the field of investigation, but the church, Catholic and Protestant, contested every inch of the way with malevolence and sophistry. Seeing defeat imminent, the theologians, as in the case of the conflict over every other science, tried to compromise, then to "reconcile" the discoveries of the scientific delvers with the assertions of the Bible writers, declaring that there was no contradiction between them "when rightly understood." As an example of the absurdity of all the fictitious "reconciliations" which have been attempted, Mr. White, speaking of the nebular hypothesis and the Plateau experiment for the demonstration of the formation of globes by a revolving sphere, narrates this incident (i., 18):

"A few years since one of the most noted professors of chemistry in the city of New York, under the auspices of one of the most fashionable churches, gave a lecture which, as was claimed in the public prints and in placards posted in the streets, was to show that science supports the theory of creation given in the sacred books ascribed to Moses. A large audience assembled, and a brilliant series of elementary experiments with oxygen, hydrogen, and carbonic acid was concluded by the Plateau demonstration. It was beautifully made. As the colored globule of oil, representing the earth, was revolved in a transparent medium of equal density, as it became flattened at the poles, as rings then broke forth from it and revolved about it, and finally, as some of these rings broke into satellites, which for a moment continued to

circle about the central mass, the audience, as well they might, rose and broke into rapturous applause. Thereupon a well-to-do citizen arose and moved the thanks of the audience to the eminent professor for 'this perfect demonstration of the exact and literal conformity of the statements given in Holy Scripture with the latest results of science.' The motion was carried unanimously and with applause, and the audience dispersed, feeling that a great service had been rendered to orthodoxy. *Sancta simplicitas!*"

As before said, this was typical of all the "reconciliations" of science and religion that the advance of knowledge has forced the theologians to attempt. They are all equally unfounded and ridiculous. The war of religion against growing science has three stages—fierce opposition to the new thought, to the fresh discovery, then attempts to compromise, to save something for religion from the wreck, and then acceptance of all that has been battled against, the surrender accompanied by the truth-smothering claim that there is no inharmony between the new and the old, that all that natural science now shows us was put into the Bible by its "inspired scribes." Even the learned and progressive Andrew D. White, as we have seen, is not wholly free from this vicious predilection to reconcile the irreconcilable. After demonstrating that every dogma of Christianity has been eaten away by the attrition of the remorseless current of increasing knowledge, he can still many times repeat the astonishing assertion that Christianity has come out of the conflict purer and stronger than it was ever before! Christianity stronger than

ever before? Why, the warfare so graphically depicted by Mr. White in his two splendid volumes has left nothing of Christianity but its name; that name is its stock in trade, and with it it asks and receives the custom of the unthinking mob, of such undeveloped men and women as, in the meeting described by Mr. White, ratified the idiotic claim that the Plateau experiment demonstrated "the exact literal conformity of the statements given in Holy Scripture with the latest results of science."

Pausing here and slightly retracing our steps, let us see how far we had come at near the beginning of the Christian era, and just preceding that period of arrested development which Christianity brought and which lasted for a millennium and a half. We may ask "what is the sum of the speculation into the causes and nature of things which, begun in Ionia (with impulse more or less slight from the East, in the sixth century before Christ), by Thales, ceased, for many centuries, in the poem of Lucretius, thus covering an active period of about five hundred years. The caution not to see in these speculations more than an approximate approach to modern theories must be kept in mind.

"1. There is a primary substance which abides amidst the general flux of things.

"All modern research tends to show that the various combinations of matter are formed of some *prima materia*. But its ultimate nature remains unknown.

"2. Out of nothing comes nothing.

"Modern science knows nothing of a beginning, and, moreover, holds it to be unthinkable. In this

it stands in direct opposition to the theological dogma that God created the universe out of nothing; a dogma still accepted by the majority of Protestants and binding on Roman Catholics. For the doctrine of the Church of Rome thereon, as expressed by the Canons of the Vatican Council, is as follows: 'If any one confesses not that the world and all things which are contained in it, both spiritual and mental [material?], have been, in their whole substance, produced by God out of nothing; or shall say that God created, not by His free will from all necessity, but by a necessity equal to the necessity whereby He loves Himself, or shall deny that the world was made for the glory of God, let him be anathema.'

"3. The primary substance is indestructible.

"The modern doctrine of the Conservation of Energy teaches that both matter and motion can neither be created nor destroyed.

"4. The universe is made up of indivisible particles called atoms, whose manifold combinations, ruled by unalterable affinities, result in the variety of things.

"With modifications based on chemical as well as mechanical changes among the atoms, this theory of Leucippus and Democritus is confirmed. (But recent experiments and discoveries show that reconstruction of chemical theories as to the properties of the atom may happen.)

"5. Change is the law of things, and is brought about by the play of opposing forces.

"Modern science explains the change in phenomena as due to the antagonism of repelling and attracting modes of motion; when the latter are over-

come by the former, equilibrium will be reached, and the present state of things will come to an end.

**"6. Water is a necessary condition of life.**

**"Therefore life had its beginning in water; a theory wholly indorsed by modern biology.**

**"7. Life arose out of non-living matter.**

**"Although modern biology leaves the origin of life as an insoluble problem, it supports the theory of fundamental continuity between the inorganic and the organic.**

**"8. Plants came before animals; the higher organisms are of separate sex, and appeared subsequent to the lower.**

**"Generally confirmed by modern biology, but with qualifications as to the undefined borderland between the lowest plants and the lowest animals. And, of course, it recognizes a continuity in the order and succession of life which was not grasped by the Greeks. Aristotle and others before him believed that some of the higher sprang from slimy matter direct.**

**"9. Adverse conditions cause the extinction of some organisms, thus leaving room for those better fitted.**

**"Herein lay the crude germ of the modern doctrine of the 'survival of the fittest.'**

**"10. Man was the last to appear, and his primitive state was one of savagery. His first tools and weapons were of stone; then, after the discovery of metals, of copper; and, following that, of iron. His body and soul are alike compounded of atoms, and the soul is extinguished at death.**

**"The science of Prehistoric Archeology confirms**

the theory of man's slow passage from barbarism to civilization, and the science of Comparative Psychology declares that the evidence of his immortality is neither stronger nor weaker than the evidence of the immortality of the lower animals" (Clodd, *ibid.*, 32 to 35).

Now we are to see somewhat in detail how Christianity dealt with these ancient ideas and their better developed successors in modern times.

Accepting the two conflicting accounts in Genesis of creation, the authorities in the church exhausted their ingenuity in the attempt to blend them into one and the resources of the civil power in forcing universal acquiescence in the hodge-podge that resulted. St. Augustine declared that "nothing is to be accepted save on the authority of scripture, since greater is that authority than all the powers of the human mind." While some few were slightly inclined to believe in the pre-existence of raw matter, they agreed in holding to the literal account in Genesis as concerned the creation of man and the animals. Luther and Calvin and the other Protestant leaders were at one with the Catholic theologians on this point, as on so many others. Death came to all as the result of Adam's sin; John Wesley, Dr. Adam Clarke and Richard Watson, agreed fully with the dictum of St. Augustine in this matter. For centuries the strongest current of thought in the church discouraged the study of animal life, and what study there was consisted of comical revamping and amplification of old-time myths, like those concerning the basilisk, the phoenix, dragons, and other similar creatures of fancy. "In the twelfth and thirteenth centuries

Abd Allatif made observations upon the natural history of Egypt which showed a truly scientific spirit, and the Emperor Frederick II. attempted to promote a more fruitful study of nature; but one of these men was abhorred as a Mussulman and the other as an Infidel" (White, i., 37). Even as late as the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries the Church found means to effectually discourage in Italy the study of nature, while in England the Royal Society was frowned upon by Protestantism. In France in the middle of the eighteenth century the great naturalist, Buffon, was forced by the Sorbonne to make this "recantation": "I abandon everything in my book respecting the formation of the earth, and generally all which may be contrary to the narrative of Moses" (Lyell, "Principles of Geology," iii., 57).

On an evolution in animated nature the church had most decided views; it fought every new idea with the utmost ferocity and it was not until the victory of evolution was assured beyond the possibility of reversal that the old tactics of compromise, reconciliation, and "we told you so" were resorted to by the discomfited champions of revelation. In Egypt men had thought crudely on a natural development of life, and this thought had been passed on to the early Greeks. Anaximander, Empedocles, Aristotle and others had somewhat developed it, but with the coming in of Christian theology this tendency toward a yet truer theory of evolution was mainly stopped (White, i., 52). Leibnitz put forth a new idea on the alleged immutability of species—in 1712 the Jesuits frustrated his attempt to found an academy of science in



Vienna. Linnaeus was a great botanist, but his theology made him a barrier in the current of evolutionary progress. Yet his orthodoxy did not save him from the censure of the religious leaders. His proofs of the sexual system of plants led to the interdiction of his writings in the papal states and other parts of Europe; Cuvier, likewise under the incubus of the church dogmas, gave the "whole mass of his authority in favor of the old theory of catastrophic changes and special creations" (ibid., i., 64). The great English universities, controlled by the church, had only sneers for those who in the early part of the nineteenth century stumbled upon some part of the truth relating to the development of species. When Robert Chambers published his "Vestiges of Creation" in 1844 the religionists were wildly alarmed, but when on July 1, 1858, the papers of Charles Darwin and Alfred Russel Wallace were read before the Linnaean Society of London, and when, in 1859, appeared the first edition of Darwin's "Origin of Species," the alarm became an angry panic. "The Origin of Species," says Mr. White, "had come into the theological world like a plow into an ant-hill." Bishop Wilberforce attacked the new view of life savagely; Cardinal Manning declared that it was "a brutal philosophy"; those who accepted it were proclaimed by another critic as the inhalers of mephitic gas; American religious papers and clergymen echoed the outcries of the English representatives of the church; Australian Christians followed suit; Cardinal Wiseman sent out a circular frantically calling upon Catholics to resist this latest advance of the devil; in France, Fabre

d'Envieu, the Abbe Desorges, and Monseigneur Segur sprang into the breach, the latter, referring to Darwin and his adherents, vociferating that "These infamous doctrines have for their only support the most abject passions. Their father is pride, their mother impurity, their offspring revolutions. They come from hell and return thither, taking with them the gross creatures who blush not to proclaim and accept them" (ibid., i., 70-73). In Germany Catholics and Protestants rivaled each other in opposition and denunciation. Of course all the subordinate sentinels on the walls of Zion joined in the alarm and large numbers of them are still firing, although most of their commanders have discreetly surrendered. The more orthodox these men were the more quickly and clearly they perceived the logical implications of the doctrines of natural selection and evolution; if Darwin and his compeers were right then the Bible was a purely human production. Their instinct was right. "In truth, there is not a dogma of Christendom, not a foundation on which the dogma rests, that Evolution does not traverse. The Church of England adopts, 'as thoroughly to be received and believed,' the three ancient creeds, known as the 'Apostles', the Athanasian, and the Nicene. There is not a sentence in any of these which finds confirmation; and only a sentence or two that find neither confirmation nor contradiction, in Evolution" (Clodd, ibid., 220). "When the argument against him [the Evolutionist] is adduced from the Bible, he can only challenge the ground on which that book is cited as divine authority, or as an authority at all. Granting, for the sake of argu-

ment, that a revelation has been made, the writings purporting to contain it must comply with the twofold condition attaching to it, namely, that it makes known matters which the human mind could not unaided have found out; and that it embodies those matters in language as to the meaning of which there can be no doubt whatever. If there be any sacred books which comply with these conditions, they have yet to be discovered.

"When the argument against the evolutionist is drawn from human testimony, he does not dispute the existence of belief in a soul and all the accompanying apparatus of the supernatural; but he calls in the anthropologist to explain how these arose in the barbaric mind" (*ibid.*, 223).

Sir Charles Lyell had been opposed to the evolution theory of Lamarck, but when this eminent geologist's work, "The Antiquity of Man," came out in 1863 it was seen that he was a "convert to the fundamental ideas of Darwin," "a complete though unwilling convert." Huxley's "Man's Place in Nature" appeared at about the same time, and Darwin's "Descent of Man" in 1871. These books did not allay the religious tempest. A letter written by Pope Pius IX. to congratulate an author who had "exposed" the "follies" of the scientific investigators, contains these sentences: "A system which is repugnant at once to history, to the traditions of all peoples, to exact science, to observed facts, and even to Reason herself, would seem to need no refutation, did not alienation from God and the leaning toward materialism, due to depravity, eagerly seek a support in all this tissue of fables" (White, i., 75). In England Dr. Pusey, W. E.

Gladstone, and other prominent churchmen val-  
 ously led the hosts of religion against the heretical  
 men of science. The Dean of Chichester most  
 truthfully said that "those who refuse to accept  
 the history of the creation of our first parents,  
 according to its obvious literal intention, and are for  
 substituting the modern dream of evolution in its  
 place, cause the entire scheme of man's salvation  
 to collapse" (ibid., i., 77). In the United States  
 Rev. Dr. Hodge, of Princeton, and Rev. Noah Por-  
 ter, of Yale, ranged themselves on the side of fos-  
 silization. While these men and their fellow-dogma-  
 tists in America and France and England and Ger-  
 many were loudly protesting that evolution was  
 nonsense, the working men of science in various  
 parts of the world were discovering the ancestors  
 of the horse, cretaceous birds with teeth, connect-  
 ing links between birds and reptiles, "and missing-  
 links" in the carnivora. Now began the attempts at  
 compromise, sure to come in the development of  
 every science. Dr. McCosh, of Princeton, saw that  
 it was unsafe to admit that the establishment of  
 the truth of evolution involved the denial of the  
 truth of scripture. So this dangerous fact was kept  
 out of sight more and more, until the uncritical  
 public came to believe the baseless assertion of the  
 reconcilers that there is no conflict between the  
 fact of evolution and the biblical narrative. But  
 even after the beginning of the compromising move-  
 ment the more orthodox religionists did not relax  
 their angry opposition. Whewell refused to permit  
 a copy of the "Origin of Species" to be put into  
 the library of Trinity College, Cambridge; nearly  
 all the younger professors were dismissed from the

American College at Beyrout; Professor Winchell lost his chair in Vanderbilt University, and Dr. Woodrow his in the Presbyterian Seminary at Columbia, South Carolina; Spanish ecclesiastical authorities ordered all persons possessing copies of a certain work showing the barbarism of primitive man "to surrender them at once to the proper ecclesiastics, and the author was placed under the major excommunication"; many other schools, Catholic and Protestant, engaged in similar vain efforts to stem the current of knowledge of man's development (*ibid.*, 78-85). Some of the latest attempts to minimize the results of the victory for evolution are the works of Prof. Henry Drummond, Professor Kidd and Arthur Balfour.

The flat, parallelogrammic earth of the older theorists was accepted by the Christian church, and strenuously fought for in face of the accumulating evidence that the earth is a sphere. Cosmas Indicopleustes insisted that the scriptures showed that it was built after the fashion of the Jewish tabernacle—"boxlike and oblong." In the later ages Albert the Great, St. Thomas Aquinas, and other authorities were forced to admit its sphericity, but Luther, Calvin, Zwingli and Melancthon among the Protestants clung to the Bible notion of its four-cornered shape. Luther's followers for a time were even more bigoted than he in their adherence to the ancient dogma (*ibid.*, i., 89-98). "Every great people of antiquity, as a rule, regarded its own central city or most holy place as necessarily the center of the earth" (*ibid.*, i., 98). So the Jews regarded Jerusalem. The book of Ezekiel said so, and the Christian church echoed

the assertion. There had stood the cross of Calvary, there a spear standing erect would cast no shadow at the equinox. Later came the evolution that on that precise spot had stood the tree that bore the forbidden fruit. This was maintained as late as 1664 by the French priest, Eugene Roger (Roger, "La Terre Sainte," Paris, 1664, 89-218).

That there might be inhabitants at the antipodes was held by the early church to be rank heresy. "The universal church was arrayed against it, and in front of the vast phalanx stood, to a man, the fathers. To all of them this idea seemed dangerous; to most of them it seemed damnable" (White, i., 103). This position was amply sustained by scriptural texts. To teach the contrary, was to "give the lie to King David and to St. Paul, and therefore to the Holy Ghost," said St. Augustine, and his word dominated for a thousand years ("De Civitate Dei, xvi., 9). Procopius of Gaza said that if there were people on the other side of the earth there must have been a duplicate Garden of Eden, Adam, serpent, deluge, and Christ, or Christ must have been sacrificed twice; even St. Isadore of Seville—who had avowed his belief in the sphericity of the earth—declared that there can not and ought not to be people at the antipodes (White i., 104-105). When in the eighth century Virgil of Salzburg ventured to revive the idea of inhabitants on the opposite parts of the earth the great St. Boniface and Pope Zachary fiercely assailed him with denunciations and Bible texts, the latter declaring that the idea of the antipodes was "perverse, iniquitous and against Virgil's own soul" (White, i., 106, and numerous authorities cited by him).

This dictum held good for five hundred years, when Albert the Great gave a faint sanction to the idea of antipodean inhabitants, but in language probably "purposely obscure." "Again it disappears beneath the theological wave, and a hundred years later Nicolas d'Oresme, geographer of the king of France, a light of science, is forced to yield to the clear teaching of the scripture as cited by St. Augustine" (ibid., i., 106). In the early part of the fourteenth century, in Italy, Peter of Abano escaped the Inquisition only by death for his teaching in this and other scientific matters, and in 1327 Cecco d'Ascoli, an astronomer, lost his professorship at Bologna and was burned alive at Florence (ibid., i., 106-7, and authorities cited). Orthodox fossilism on this point was the greatest obstacle in the way of Columbus when he sought aid to enable him to make the voyage that resulted in the discovery of America. The defenders of revelation fought to the last, and it was not until the successful voyage of Magellan had shown to European eyes the inhabitants of the antipodes that there were considerable breaks in the ranks of the army of inspired geography. Even after this demonstration, and others, there were many men so incapable of grasping truth in conflict with the Bible that for another two hundred years the hopeless battle against the fact of the antipodeans was maintained.

Roger Bacon and others who sought to ascertain the size of the earth by such scientific means as were within their knowledge were looked upon as sorcerers, and to be considered a sorcerer was very dangerous in those times. It was likewise

very easy to be heretical as regards the character of the earth's surface. As the Bible asserts that Judea was "a land flowing with milk and honey," and as Michael Servetus brought out an edition of Ptolemy's "Geography," in which work Palestine is described truly as, taken as a whole, "meager, barren, and inhospitable," Calvin urged this statement with terrible effect against Servetus in his trial, declaring that it "necessarily inculpated Moses, and grievously outraged the Holy Ghost" (Rilliet, "Relation du Proces Criminel Contre Michel Servet d'Apres les Documents Originaux," Geneva, 1844, pp. 42, 43). In conclusion, Mr. White affirms that the attitude of the church upon geography was, "on the whole, steadily hostile to truth" (i., 113).

The early Christians did not care much about the study of astronomy. They "knew" that the world was soon coming to an end and hence rightly concluded that it would be more profitable to them to put their spiritual houses in order than to investigate material things. "For Jesus had foretold his second coming, and the earliest epistles of the apostles bade the faithful prepare for it. Here there was no continuing city ; citizenship was in heaven, for the kingdom of Christ was not of this world. Therefore to give thought to the earthly and fleeting was folly and impiety, for who would care to heap up wealth, to strive for place or to pursue pleasure, or to search after what men called 'wisdom,' when those imperilled the soul, and blocked the way to heaven?" (Clodd, *ibid.*, 50). There was a general and hazy idea that the stars were the homes of angels, who moved them about from place to place, as they did the sun and moon. St. Isadore in the



seventh century maintained that because of the "fall of Man" the sun and moon have shone with a feeble light than they did before that event, and that they will return to their former splendor after Christ has completed his mission. The earth was the center of the universe, and as man was made to serve God, so the universe was made to serve man, his position in the center making his service of God and the universe's service of him most convenient. Peter Lombard elaborated this idea very carefully about the middle of the Twelfth century (White, i., 114-17). St. Thomas Aquinas developed it still further. The parallelogram had disappeared and a globe had taken its place, and "encompassing it are successive transparent spheres rotated by angels about the earth, and each carrying one or more of the heavenly bodies with it" (ibid., i., 118). The tenth heaven was immovable; it was the boundary between creation and the outer void. In this—the Empyrean—was God's throne. Attending him are three hierarchies of angels, "one serving in the empyrean, one in the heavens between the empyrean and the earth, and one on the earth" (ibid., i., 118-19). The first hierarchy is divided into three choirs, or orders—Seraphim, Cherubim, and Thrones. The second hierarchy is composed of the order of Dominions, of Powers, of Empire. The third hierarchy consists of the principalities, the Archangels, the Angels. Underneath the earth is hell, the abode of Lucifer and his followers, the fallen angels and the spirits of bad men. Some of the fallen angels, however, still roam the planetary spheres and make existence tedious to the good angels, while others inhabit

the earth's atmosphere and carry hail, lightning, tempest, and drouth, and still others "infest earthly society, tempting men to sin" (*ibid.*, i., 119). All this was fastened into the Ptolemaic system, constituting a religious science regarded as sacred, to challenge which was blasphemy. It was part of the very life of Christianity to nearly the end of the seventeenth century. The reader can now understand how it was that Bruno, Galileo, Copernicus, and their fellow astronomers and thinkers found it almost impossible to secure a hearing—in the eyes of Christians everywhere they were blasphemers and enemies of God, rebels who would overturn the physical and moral universe.

But the heliocentric theory, that was eventually to supplant the geocentric, was slowly gaining; Nicholas Copernicus, after waiting thirty years for it to become safe to give his thoughts to the world, prepared his "Revolutions of the Heavenly Bodies," and dedicated it to the pope. It must not be sent to Rome for publication, for the wolves of the old church would seize it; to Wittenberg it could not go, for there were the equally hostile tigers of Protestantism; so it was sent to Oslander at Nuremburg. Oslander wrote an abject preface, making apologies for Copernicus, and falsely asserting that the author had put forth the doctrine of the earth's movement not as a fact, but as a hypothesis. Thus the great truth sneaked into the world. The printed book was put into the hands of Copernicus on his death-bed, a few hours before he ceased to live (*ibid.*, i., 120-21). This was in 1543. For nearly seventy years the church allowed the theory to slumber; Oslander's preface

had put it in the category of hypothesis; some were even permitted to present the new view in that light, but when Galileo announced it as a truth the Roman machine moved; the statements of Copernicus were condemned; Galileo was forbidden to teach or discuss the theory; "all books which affirm the motion of the earth" were interdicted—to read such was to risk damnation. "All branches of the Protestant church—Lutheran, Calvinist, Anglican—vied with each other in denouncing the Copernican doctrine as contrary to scripture." Later, the Puritans did the same. Luther, Calvin, Melancthon, Wesley, Turretin, John Owen, and all the lesser spokesmen of Protestantism joined in the chorus of execration. Nuremburg was a Protestant stronghold, and there the people "caused a medal to be struck with inscriptions ridiculing the philosopher and his theory." Professors were strictly forbidden to make known to their students the facts shown by the telescope. This happened at Innspruck, Pisa, Louvain, Douay, Salamanca, Wittenberg, and other universities—Catholic and Protestant alike. This condition of affairs lasted for generations. See Mr. White's work and the multitude of authorities cited by him.

The struggle deepened. Bruno died at the stake. Galileo was intrigued against, spied upon, lied about, summoned before the Inquisition, threatened with torture, forced to deny what he knew to be true, silenced. Pope Paul V. issued his decree affirming that "the doctrine of the double motion of the earth about its axis and about the sun is false, and entirely contrary to Holy Scripture." This decree also condemned all the works of Copernicus

and all other works "which affirm the motion of the earth." Urban VIII. succeeded Paul V. As Cardinal Barberini he had seemed friendly. Galileo became more hopeful and allowed his continued belief in the heliocentric theory to be known. He was induced to again visit Rome. Urban tried to flatter him into the renunciation of his views. He was attacked with "argument," with starvation (his salary as professor in the University of Pisa was taken from him), with treachery, with vituperative denunciation. Galileo prepared a treatise in the form of a dialogue, presenting the arguments for and against the Ptolemaic and Copernican systems. He asked permission of the church to print it—offering to submit to any conditions that might be imposed. Eight years passed—permission was given, with the condition that a preface be written by the Master of the Sacred Palace, Father Ricciardi, and signed by Galileo. In this preface the Copernican theory "was virtually exhibited as a play of the imagination, and not at all as opposed to the Ptolemaic doctrine reasserted in 1616 by the Inquisition under the direction of Pope Paul V." (*ibid.*, i., 140). The "Dialogo" appeared in 1632 and was an immense success. "The pious preface was laughed at from one end of Europe to the other." Then the Jesuits, the Dominicans, and most of the clergy renewed their attacks upon Galileo. At the front of the persecutors stood Pope Urban VIII. Galileo and his books were turned over to the Inquisition; the Benedictine Castelli tried to say a good word for Galileo; he was dismissed in disgrace. Galileo was once more brought before the Inquisition, where "he was menaced with torture

again and again by express order of Pope Urban and, as is also thoroughly established from the trial documents "themselves, forced to abjure under threats, and subjected to imprisonment by command of the pope; the Inquisition deferring in this whole matter to the papal authority" (*ibid.*, i., 142 and authorities there cited). His abjuration should be preserved as an everlasting brand of shame upon the Catholic church:

"I, Galileo, being in my seventieth year, being a prisoner and on my knees, and before your Eminences, having before my eyes the Holy Gospel, which I touch with my hands, abjure, curse, and detest the error and the heresy of the movement of the earth."

He was also compelled to swear that he would denounce to the Inquisition whoever should assert the truth which he had been forced to forswear. He was exiled from his family and friends and his employment; he was not permitted to speak of his theory; he was given a little greater freedom when blind and worn with disease, but still was kept under close surveillance; his friends were punished, and he could not reply to attacks upon himself and his works. On June 16, 1663, the Holy Congregation, with the permission of the pope, ordered the sentence upon him and his recantation, "to be sent to all the papal nuncios throughout Europe, as well as to all the archbishops, bishops, and inquisitors in Italy" (*ibid.*, i., 144). The inquisitors, particularly in Italy, were ordered to permit no new edition of Galileo's works to be issued, nor the works of others on the same side. On the other hand, theologians were encouraged to flood

Europe with "refutations" of the Copernican theory. To the Index forbidding "all writings which affirm the motion of the earth," was prefixed a bull of the pope throwing his infallibility into the scale against the new doctrine.

The Protestant church vied with the mother church in bitter hostility to the Copernican discovery, at this time, as we have already seen that it did earlier. For instance: When Dr. Priestley had been selected to accompany the scientific expedition under Captain Cook, which sailed from England in 1772, the clergy of Oxford and Cambridge interfered, and he was weeded out, to the loss of science. It was feared that his suspected unorthodoxy on the subject of the Trinity would affect the orthodoxy of his astronomical observations. Kepler gave to the world his three great laws, but he was attacked on every side. Catholics and Protestants pressed upon him. Even as late as May, 1829, at the unveiling of Thorwaldsen's statue of Copernicus at Warsaw, no priest would officiate. The edition of the Index printed in 1835 was the first one from which was omitted the condemnation of the works in favor of the idea of the double motion of the earth (*ibid.*, i., 156-7). Three popes were actively engaged between 1616 and 1664 in the attempt to crush out the heresy of the moving earth—Paul V., Urban VIII., and Alexander VII., the latter, in 1664, prefixing to the Index of that date condemning "all books which affirm the motion of the earth," "a papal bull, signed by himself, binding the contents of the Index upon the consciences of the faithful" (*ibid.*, i., 158, and authorities there cited). "We have the Roman In-

dex containing the condemnation for nearly two hundred years, prefaced by a solemn bull of the reigning pope, binding this condemnation on the conscience of the whole church, and declaring year after year that 'all books which affirm the motion of the earth' are damnable" (ibid., i., 164). But the Catholics cannot consistently be stoned by Protestants, as Mr. White well says in this paragraph (i., 169): "Most unjustly, then, would Protestantism taunt Catholicism for excluding knowledge of astronomical truths from European Catholic universities in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries while real knowledge of geological and biological and anthropological truth is denied or pitifully diluted in so many American Protestant colleges and universities in the nineteenth century."

The ancient belief in comets, meteors, and eclipses as signs of supernatural displeasure with man or as warnings to him, came to the Christian church, along with the other superstitions it received from earlier religions, and produced incalculable evil effects. The theologians fought bitterly against every attempt to explain these phenomena on natural principles. Mr. White considers the three main evils from this delusion to have been "the paralysis of self-help, the arousing of fanaticism, and the strengthening of ecclesiastical and political tyranny" (ibid., i., 175). Catholic and Lutheran, Calvinist and Puritan, in Europe and America, with all and in all, the belief dominated, making men the prey of horrible fears and the perpetrators of equally horrible cruelties. At the end of the seventeenth century Conrad Dieterich, "director of studies at the University of Marburg, de-



**Unchaste Monk thrown into the Tiber by two Devils. Illustration of an old legend.**



**The Devil Himself.**

**After a Stone Figure in the Notre Dame Cathedral at Paris.  
From the Twelfth Century.**



nounced all scientific investigation of comets as impious," and declared that they should be considered only as "signs and wonders" (*ibid.*, i., 184). His utterances were typical of the utterances of his fellow-theologians of all schools. "Our sins are the inflammable material of which comets are made," asserts Dieterich (*ibid.*, i., 193). Increase Mather was greatly agitated by this theory, and thundered in his pious lucubrations: "The warning piece of heaven is going off. Now, then, if the Lord discharge his murdering pieces from on high, and men be found in their sins unfit for death, their blood shall be upon them" (*ibid.*, i., 195). To-day the superstition lingers in the United States, where influential religious newspapers affirm that storms and drouths and floods and earthquakes are God's instruments for the punishment of Sabbath-breaking nations.

There was a germ of geological truth in Greece, and this was later developed in Rome, where there was nothing which forbade reasoning "regarding either the earth's strata or the remains of former life found in them, and under the Roman empire a period of fruitful observation seemed sure to begin. But, as Christianity took control of the world, there came a great change" (*ibid.*, i., 209). Indifference and contempt for a "fallen world" soon ripened into active and bitter opposition to whatever investigations led to results that threw doubt on the accuracy of the "divine word." "The broken and twisted crust of the earth" represented God's wrath against sin, and fossils resulted from the flood (*ibid.*, i., 210). Here, as in the discussion of all the other sciences already mention-

and to be mentioned, the position of the Protestant churches was no better, in fact, was worse than that of the Catholic church. There was manifested the same ignorance of anything but the Bible, the same persistence in setting up biblical texts against the discoveries of investigators, and the same hatred of innovators. In this struggle for more knowledge the church apologists called fossils "mineral secretions" or "models" which God made by way of experiment, preparatory to the grand creation act. English Protestants were away to the front in the war against geology. "Against geology it was urged that the scientific doctrine that fossils represent animals which died before Adam contradicts the theological doctrine of Adam's fall and the statement that 'death entered the world by sin'" (ibid., i., 218). This is of a kind with all other arguments of religionists in opposition of science. William Whiston, John Wesley, Adam Clarke, and Richard Watson were among the leading English obstructionists of geological investigations. "Such was the influence of this succession of great men that toward the close of the last century the English opponents of geology on biblical grounds seemed likely to sweep all before them" (ibid., i., 222). John Howard joined in the outcry. In America Professor Stuart, of Andover, took a prominent part in this attempt to sweep back the waves of geological truth. On the other side, Voltaire, fearing that fossils would give support to the alleged Mosaic account of a universal deluge, tried to prove that fossil fishes (found in France) "were remains of fishes intended for food, but spoiled and thrown away by travelers; that

the fossil shells were accidentally dropped by crusaders and pilgrims returning from the Holy Land, and that the fossil bones found between Paris and Etampes were parts of a skeleton belonging to the cabinet of some ancient philosopher" (ibid., i., 229). For their part, the theologians of England, France, and Germany strenuously insisted that the fossils were produced by the deluge and that to so believe was essential to salvation. Referring to the morning of creation and to the scientific argument from fossils, Chateaubriand contended that "it was part of the perfection and harmony of that nature which was displayed before men's eyes that the deserted nests of last year's birds should be seen on the trees, and that the seashore should be covered with shells which had been the abode of fish, and yet the world was quite new, and nests and shells had never been inhabited" ("Genie du Christianisme," chap. v., 1-14). The Russo Greek church took part on the same side in the fight for sacred ignorance. Down to as late as 1880 prominent theologians in France and Germany were still desperately trying to save the infallibility of church and Bible. Of course the devout and ignorant masses of church adherents have not yet surrendered, and are not likely to very soon, while such "thinkers" as was Gladstone continue to be blind leaders of the blind in futile antagonism to knowledge. The more astute teachers in the church have been especially prolific in vain compromises and reconciliations in this field of science. In closing this brief summary of the history of the warfare between religion and geology, the following quotations from the address of the late

Dean of Westminster, Dr. Arthur Stanley, are submitted: "It is now clear to diligent students of the Bible that the first and second chapters of Genesis contain two narratives of the creation, side by side, differing from each other in almost every particular of time and place and order. It is well known that, when the science of geology first arose, it was involved in endless schemes of attempted reconciliation with the letter of scripture. There were, there are perhaps still, two modes of reconciliation of scripture and science, which have been each in their day attempted, and each has totally and deservedly failed. One is the endeavor to wrest the words of the Bible from their natural meaning and force it to speak the language of science." Referring to the interpolation of "not" in Leviticus xi., 6, he adds: "This is the earliest instance of the falsification of scripture to meet the demands of science; and it has been followed in later times by the various efforts which have been made to twist the earlier chapters of the book of Genesis into apparent agreement with the last results of geology—representing days not to be days, morning and evening not to be morning and evening, the deluge not to be the deluge, and the ark not to be the ark" (White, i., 247).

Regarding the antiquity of man, the fathers of the church believed that they knew what it was exactly; they had the date of creation, carefully computing back from a date "well within ascertained profane history" to Adam through the use of the chronology of Genesis. They differed somewhat in detail, according to the version of the scriptures used, but the agreement was substantial.

These credulous gentlemen of the church often took one mythology with another as equally true, as for example Eusebius, who classed together, all as real personages, Bacchus with Moses and Joshua, Deborah, Orpheus, and the Amazons, Abimelech, the Sphinx and Edipus (*ibid.*, i., 249-50). To believe in the duration of the earth as greater than six thousand years was a deadly heresy, declared St. Augustine. Such was the doctrine held through the centuries, to the cost of science, and by Protestants no less than by Catholics. "We know, on the authority of Moses, that longer ago than six thousand years the world did not exist," said Luther. "Men who would have burned each other at the stake for their differences on other points agreed on this: Melanchthon and Tostatus, Lightfoot and Jansen, Salmeron and Scaliger, Petavius and Kepler, inquisitors and reformers, Jesuits and Jansenists, priests and rabbis, stood together in the belief that the creation of man was proved by scripture to have taken place between 3900 and 4004 years before Christ" (*ibid.*, i., 253). It may easily be understood that in the face of such unanimity in the church the Egyptologists, Assyriologists, and archeologists had a hard task to get the truth concerning the antiquity of the human race before the people. In the seventeenth century "in some parts of Europe a man holding new views on chronology was by no means safe from bodily harm" (*ibid.*, 254). Thus when La Peyrere in France issued a work on the Pre-Adamites, he was viciously assailed from every side, his book was burned by the Parliament of Paris, and he was himself imprisoned until he retracted his state-

ments, and also abjured his Protestantism. In England the opposition was scarcely less extreme in its methods. At the beginning of the Nineteenth century the old chronology seemed more strongly intrenched than ever, in spite of the great mass of evidence already collected in support of a vastly greater age for man. Dr. Adam Clarke asserted that "to preclude the possibility of a mistake, the unerring spirit of God directed Moses in the selection of his facts and the ascertaining of his dates" (*ibid.*, i., 256). The Egyptologist, Sir J. G. Wilkinson, announced as late as 1850 "to the effect that he had modified the results he had obtained from Egyptian monuments, in order that his chronology might not interfere with the received date of the deluge of Noah" (*ibid.*, and the various editions of Wilkinson's work on Egypt). Wilkinson is certainly an awful example of a man of science fastening a church padlock through his lips and putting the key into the hands of the parson. But the discoveries in the Nile valley and in Assyria made it certain that the scriptural account of the flood could not be true, and that man was much older than six thousand years. It was plain that at the time of the alleged flood there was a flourishing civilization in Egypt, and that the flood had not interrupted it (*ibid.*, i., 257). For the records found in the Nile valley, the revelations of philology, of archeology, and of architecture, "there is not adequate explanation save the existence of man in that valley thousands on thousands of years before the longest time admitted by our sacred chronologists" (*ibid.*, i., 263). Researches in Assyria and Babylonia confirmed those made in Egypt.

The church defenders had yet worse to face. The science of Comparative Ethnography was born in the early part of the eighteenth century. It began to be understood by a few that the customs and beliefs of contemporary savages were the same as those of the early inhabitants of Europe. Their weapons were found to be similar to or identical with the roughly chipped or polished stones found in various parts of the world. These latter were called "thunder-stones," and were supposed to be weapons hurled by the gods and other supernatural beings. During the Middle Ages especially they were by very many believed to be weapons used in the "war in Heaven." They were often worshiped as such, and possessed wonderful protective properties, in battle, at sea, and against thunder and bad dreams. Another theological theory was advanced by Tollius in 1649, to the effect that these stones were "generated in the sky by a fulgurous exhalation conglobed in a cloud by the circumposed humour" (*ibid.*, i., 267). This was one of the humors of the situation, but the tragedies developed whenever any one suggested that the stone weapons and implements found indicated that man might be older than the age assigned him by the Bible. For such a hint given by Montesquieu in the first edition of his "Persian Letters" the author was soon made to realize that he was on dangerous ground, and he suppressed the passage in the subsequent editions. Buffon, Cuvier, Dr. Buckland, Rev. Mr. McEnery, and other writers and discoverers were so awed by the church that they dared not admit the deductions inevitable from what they saw. It was a reactionary time in France, Austria,

Italy and Germany, and consequently no one cared to offend the defenders of "scriptural science." In England Paley's thought dominated, and in the United States "the first thing essential in science was that it be adjusted to the ideas of revival exhorters" (ibid., i., 267-70). The French revolution of 1830 gave the men of science a slight breathing spell, but the clerical reactionists rallied in a few years and there was another season of darkness. But the discoverers were gathering the material that was to prove the existence of man on the earth hundreds of thousands if not millions of years earlier than the date assigned to the mythical Adam and Eve. All over the explored world were found flint weapons and implements, associated in caverns and drift with the bones of the cave bear, elephant, hyena, rhinoceros and other animals long ago extinct in the regions where the remains were found. Schmerling, who found much of this evidence in the caves of Belgium in 1833, was frightened into giving forth a sort of half-scientific, half-theologic explanation to placate the clericals (ibid., i., 271). Rude drawings of extinct animals were found upon the bones in the caverns and drift. Human bones and even human skulls were found. In 1847 Boucher de Perthes announced the discovery of thousands of flint implements and weapons in the high drift beds near Abbeville, in France. He had spent ten years in the work of excavation, with a force of men. In France he was met by what he calls "a conspiracy of silence." Then came contemptuous opposition. "This heavy, sluggish opposition seemed immovable; nothing that Boucher could do or say seemed to lighten



the pressure of the orthodox theological opinion behind it" (ibid., i., 272). So it went wherever the diggers were at work. Still the evidence of man's existence in the Drift period continued to accumulate. In 1861 Edward Lartet published the results of his excavations in the Grotto of Aurignac. "The proof that man had existed in the time of the Quaternary animals was complete" (ibid., i., 273). These discoveries made little favorable impression in the orthodox camp. The opponents of the scientific view seemed to reason, as Mr. White remarks, after the manner "of quaint old Persons, who, having maintained that God created the world 'about five thousand sixe hundred and odd yeares agoe,' added, 'And if they aske what God was doing before this short number of yeares, we answer with St. Augustine replying to such curious questioners, that He was framing Hell for them'" (ibid i., 274). And so the pious defenders of the old chronology proceeded to frame hell for the scientific investigators, that they might be as nearly like their god as possible.

In 1863 Lyell came over to the anti-biblical position in his "Geological Evidence of the Antiquity of Man." Reviews were established, societies formed, and investigations pursued in many countries. In Italy, America, Spain, Germany, England, Egypt, and India were found fresh evidences of man's great antiquity. It was discovered that in the Stone epoch there were two broad divisions of culture; the earlier characterized by very rude stone implements and weapons, the later by less crudely chipped and even by polished implements and weapons. "Remains of animals were found in con-

nection with human remains, which showed not only that man was living in times more remote than the earlier of the new investigators had dared dream, but that some of these early periods of his existence must have been of immense length, embracing climatic changes betokening different geological periods" (ibid., i., 277). It was clear "that man had lived in England early enough and long enough to pass through times when there was arctic cold and times when there was torrid heat; times when great glaciers stretched far down into England and indeed into the continent, and times when England had a land connection with the European continent, and the European continent with Africa, allowing tropical animals to migrate freely from Africa to the middle regions of England" (ibid.). "Thus it was that the six or seven thousand years allowed by the most liberal theologians of former times were seen more and more clearly to be but a mere nothing in the long succession of ages since the appearance of man" (ibid., i., 279). It was seen that away back in the Quaternary period there were great differences of race, arguing a yet more remote antiquity; that man was at least as old in the New World as in the Old; the radical Mortillet and the conservative Quatrefages united in the conclusion that man lived earlier than in the Quaternary period, that is, in the Tertiary period, and Alfred Russel Wallace put him in such an early stage of that as the Miocene (ibid., i., 281-83, and authorities there cited).

Thus it was shown that the "Fall" of man was only a myth; that, instead of having fallen, man,

upon the whole, has been constantly rising; there has been a continuous evolution from so-called unorganized matter to Humboldt and Spencer. This evolution is proven by biology and embryology, by archeology, by anthropology, by ethnology, and by history. These and many other sciences each deals a fatal blow to the doctrine of the "Fall of Man," and, consequently, to the whole Christian system founded on the legend of the fall. "While, therefore, the discoveries of astronomers and geologists have been disintegrating agencies upon old beliefs, the discoveries classed under the general term Anthropological are acting as more powerful solvents on every opinion of the past. Showing on what mythical foundations the story of the fall of man rests, Anthropology has utterly demolished the *raison d'être* of the doctrine of his redemption—the keystone of the fabric. It has penetrated the mists of antiquity, and traced the myth of a forfeited paradise, of the Creation, the Deluge, and other legends, to their birthplace in the valley of the Euphrates or the uplands of Persia; legends whose earliest inscribed records are on Accadian tablets, or in the scriptures of Zarathustra. It has, in the spirit of the commended Bereans, 'searched' those and other scriptures, finding therein legends of founders of ancient faiths cognate to those which in the course of the centuries gathered round Jesus of Nazareth; it has collated the rites and ceremonies of many a barbaric theology with those of old-world religions—Brahmanic, Buddhistic, Christian—and found only such differences between them as are referable to the higher or the lower culture. For the history of superstitions is included

in the history of beliefs; the superstitions being the germ-plasm of which all beliefs above the lowest are the modified products" (Clodd, *ibid.*, 249). Is it any wonder, then, that the army of religion has constantly waged a vindictive war against the men of science? That when open war failed resort was had to delusive compromises and fraudulent reconciliations? That even Mr. White, unsparing as he is in his denunciations of previous reconcilers, insists that religion and the Christian development of it are stronger because of the sweeping victories of science, thus becoming the latest and most fatuous of reconcilers himself?

Among the other proofs of man's antiquity were the remains found in the shell heaps of the Danish Peninsula, and in other parts of the world. Then the peat deposits were explored, and the lake dwellings of Switzerland. The evidence for development and against the "Fall" accumulated. The remains found in the Swiss lakes "showed yet more strongly that man had arrived here at a still higher stage than his predecessors of the drift, cave, and shell-heap periods, and had gone on from better to better" (White, *i.*, 295). Still the champions of ancient mistakes gave battle in their own peculiar fashion. In 1883 the Abbe Hamard, Priest of the Oratory, published his "Age of Stone and Primitive Man," in which he attacked the archeologists savagely. Among his complaints is that the "church is too mild and gentle with such monstrous doctrines" (*ibid.*, *i.*, 300, and references). As the study of ethnology made it more and more apparent that the different races of men had slowly developed from lower states of civilization, the attorneys for

the church became alarmed and they sprang to the rescue of the imperiled doctrine of the "Fall." On the continent, the most prominent of these were De Maistre and De Bonald; in Britain, Whately, Archbishop of Dublin, and the Duke of Argyll. But it was a vain struggle for the church's representatives; the conclusions of the men of science in the fields mentioned were reinforced by the investigations carried on in the department of Comparative Ethnography, Comparative Literature and Folklore. History likewise shows that "men in masses do not forget the main gains of their civilization, and that, in spite of deteriorations, their tendency is upward" (*ibid.*, i., 311). "Unbiased investigators in all lands" have "declared more and more that the beginnings of our race must have been low and brutal, and that the tendency has been upward" (*ibid.*, i., 312). "Yet, while the tendency of enlightened human thought in recent times is unmistakable, the struggle against the older view is not yet ended. The bitterness of the Abbe Hamard in France has been carried to similar and even greater extremes among sundry Protestant bodies in Europe and America" (*ibid.*, i., 313). When Professor Winchell was removed from his chair in Vanderbilt University for his evolutionary views the people were given to understand that the change was a purely economic one, but the fact was that the professor who had Professor Winchell's work added to his own likewise had the heretic's salary added to his stipend.

Although Pythagoras made the statement that lightning was intended to frighten the damned in Tartarus, a scientific explanation of the phenomena

of meteorology was early growing in Greece. In Rome were found also the germs of science. "But, as the Christian church rose to power, this evolution was checked; the new leaders of thought found, in the scriptures recognized by them as sacred, the basis for a new view, or, rather, for a modification of the old [demoniac] view" (ibid., i., 323). Lightning, said Tertullian, is identical with hell-fire. The notion was accepted and passed on to the succeeding generations of churchmen. St. Ambrose maintained that thunder is caused by the wind breaking through the solid firmament. In meteorology, as in all other things, St. Augustine based everything on the letter of the scriptures. Bede the Venerable, in England, seemed to be divided in opinion whether the waters "placed above the firmament" were stored there for use in the Deluge, or to temper the fire of the stars. He was inclined to the latter view. A spurious Bede document attributed earthquakes and tides to the alternate suction and belching of the "leviathan" of the Bible. The "explanation" was widely accepted. Bede revived the idea of the early fathers that the firmament was made of ice. It was a permanent contribution to religious science. Of course he supported it by biblical texts. If here and there a more rational view was presented the theologians soon buried it out of sight under scriptural quotations and citations from the fathers (ibid., i., 323-30, and references). The rainbow was a direct and special "sign" from God. By the early fathers hailstorms, lightning, hurricanes, earthquakes, and other violent manifestations of natural forces were generally attributed to the wrath of God, but as

the notion gained currency that the dethroned deities of the pagans still lived, as devils and demons, the idea grew that they had charge of meteorological affairs and used their power to make it uncomfortable for the Christians who had put Yahveh and Christ and their subordinates in their places. Protestants and Catholics did not disagree on this matter, except that each division was sure that the other was responsible for the calling down of heaven's wrath or was the inciting cause of the misdeeds of Satan and his minions. When the Gregorian calendar was introduced, Plieninger, who was prejudiced against it, pointed out that the elements were giving utterance to God's anger against it, as "violent storms raged over almost all Germany during the very ten days which the pope had taken out for the correction of the year," and "great floods began with the first days of the corrected year" (ibid., i., 333, and Janssen, "Geschichte des Deutschen Volkes," v., 350). In the seventeenth century, Majoli, Bishop of Voltoraria, in Italy, published in his "Dies Canicularii," or "Dog Days," in which he argued that the thunderbolt is "an exhalation condensed and cooked into stone," that it is the chief instrument of God's vengeance, and that "blasphemy and Sabbath breaking are the sins to which this punishment is especially assigned" (ibid.). Our modern theocrats are precisely of the same mind. The Jesuit Stengel elaborated this thought in four large volumes fifty years later, and shortly afterwards Protestant Pastor Georg Nuber in Swabia issued a book of "weather-sermons," in which he said that storms, hail, floods, drouths, and lightning were sent direct from God, and particularly for the pun-

ishment of the five especially heinous sins of "impenitence, incredulity, neglect of the repair of churches, fraud in payment of tithes to the clergy, and oppression of subordinates" (Nuber, "Conciones Meteoricoe," Ulm, 1661). As a minister, he was sure that four-fifths of God's attention was directed to the protection of the clergy! Hand-books of prayer against bad weather were issued; one, the "Spiritual Thunder and Storm Booklet," by the Protestant scholar, Stoltzlin, in 1731. Increase Mather in New England published a series of sermons, "The Voice of God in Stormy Winds."

In dealing with the witchcraft persecutions, we have shown to what terrible crimes the belief in diabolic agency in storms led during many centuries. Such agency was universally believed to be a fact. Priest, inquisitor, artist, poet, and man of letters accepted the notion and helped develop and disseminate it. "This doctrine grew, robust and noxious, until, in the fifteenth, sixteenth and seventeenth centuries we find its bloom in a multitude of treatises by the most learned of the Catholic and Protestant divines, and its fruitage in the torture chambers and on the scaffolds throughout Christendom. At the reformation period, and for nearly two hundred years afterwards, Catholics and Protestants vied with each other in promoting this growth" (White, i., 338-39). They found plenty of scripture to support their contention. Prayer against the "Prince of the power of the air" was reinforced by exorcism. Agreeing with his Catholic enemies in this, Luther "vehemently upheld" the theory of exorcism, "and prescribed especially the first chapter of St. John's gospel as of unfailing efficacy



against thunder and lightning, declaring that he had often found the mere sign of the cross, with the text, 'The word was made flesh,' sufficient to put storms to flight" (ibid., i., 341-42). Fetiches were also much used, the most popular being the "Agnus Dei," a piece of wax stamped with a device representing the "Lamb of God," and blessed by the hand of the pope. Processions were often resorted to to placate the demoniac powers of God or Satan as manifested in drouths, pestilences, and the like. Many such processions have taken place in Catholic countries during the last fifteen years when the cholera or other epidemic was feared or was already raging. In Protestant states the analogues of these processions are days of fasting and prayer, sometimes appointed by the civil rulers, sometimes by church officials, and such organizations as the Y. P. S. C. E., the W. C. T. U., and the Epworth League. Exorcisms of the demons of the storm and prayers for the conversion of the late Colonel Ingersoll are of precisely the same nature, essentially, and have the same purpose. The ringing of consecrated church bells was still another means of checkmating the demoniac rulers of the clouds. There naturally developed a regular ritual for the consecration of the bells. "Bell baptisms became matters of great importance. Popes, kings, and prelates were proud to stand as sponsors" (ibid., i., 346). Sometimes the water for these baptisms was brought from the Jordan. "The ritual of Paris embraces the petition that, 'whenever this bell shall sound, it shall drive away the malign influences of the assailing spirits, the horror of their apparitions, the rush of whirlwinds, the stroke of

lightning, the disasters of storms, and all the spirits of the tempests'” (ibid., i., 346-47). Luther, while fully admitting the agency of devils in storms, looked upon the ringing of bells to frighten them as childish, deeming them “altogether too powerful to be effected by means so trivial” (ibid., i., 348). As late as the end of the seventeenth century, this doctrine was widely believed, even Descartes and Francis Bacon speaking of it “with respect, admitting the fact [of protection] and suggesting very mildly that the bells may accomplish this purpose by the concussion of the air” (ibid., i., 349, and authorities cited).

As before stated, the belief in diabolic agency in storms led to the belief in the like agency of men, women, and children, acting under the direct inspiration and direction of Satan and his demons. The descent from foolishness to fanaticism and bloodthirsty fury was sure, swift, and terrible. Rivers of innocent blood were shed during the prevalence of the witchcraft delusion, and it flowed because “witches” were believed to bring diseases and disasters through the control of the forces of the air and earth given them by the “prince of the power of the air.” Under the head, “Witchcraft Delusion,” the reader will find an account of a few of the millions of atrocities in which this priest-encouraged and -compelled ignorance of the masses culminated. And back of the Catholic priest and the Protestant minister was the Bible, the infallible oracle.

Here and there a ray of common sense, a gleam of scientific light, penetrated the gloom of the witchcraft folly and crime. Now and then a man wise enough and brave enough to see and say

that demons and witches had no hand in the bringing of earthquakes and hail and tempests made his appearance. The spokesmen of the church, Catholic and Protestant, fiercely resisted this heresy. But it slowly gained strength. In the midst of the fight Franklin drew the lightning from the cloud and invented the lightning-rod. From that moment meteorological superstitions faded rapidly; but the champions of supernatural agency and the agency of witches in storms and pestilences contested every inch of ground over which they retreated. In country after country, city after city, valley after valley, Franklin's rod won its way against exorcism, and prayer, and relics, and consecrated bells. In America, and especially in Massachusetts, the use of Franklin's rod was thought to be the cause of the earthquake of 1755. In a sermon Rev. Thomas Prince, pastor of the Old South Church, melodramatically exclaimed: "In Boston are more erected than anywhere else in New England, and Boston seems to be more dreadfully shaken. Oh! there is no getting out of the mighty hand of God" (*ibid.*, i., 366 and references).

In the department of chemistry and physics the obstructive tactics of religionists long kept the world in ignorance, as they did in so many other fields of investigation and application. The best of the philosophers of Greece were more or less dominated by superstitions concerning magic and witchcraft, and hence their influence on the succeeding centuries was often harmful. Even Socrates "considered certain physical investigations as an impious intrusion into the works of the gods." Neither Plato nor Aristotle gave much clear positive thought

to the world concerning the physical sciences, but in spite of their deficiencies, "one legacy from them was especially precious—the idea that a science of nature is possible, and that the highest occupation of man is discovery of its laws. Still another gift from them was greatest of all, for they gave scientific freedom. They laid no interdict upon new paths; they interposed no barriers to the extension of knowledge; they threatened no doom in this life or in the next against investigators on new lines; they left the world free to seek any new methods and to follow any new paths which thinking men could find" (*ibid.*, i., 374-75). "Receiving this legacy of belief in science, Archimedes began just before the Christian era to open new paths through the great field of the inductive sciences by observation, comparison, and experiment. The establishment of Christianity, beginning a new evolution of theology, arrested the normal development of the physical sciences for over fifteen hundred years" (*ibid.*, i., 375). "The general belief derived from the New Testament scripture was, that the end of the world was at hand; that the last judgment was approaching; that all existing physical nature was soon to be destroyed—hence, the greatest thinkers in the church poured contempt upon all investigations into a science of nature, and insisted that everything except the saving of souls was folly" (*ibid.*, i., 375). But there was another great obstacle in the way of the study of nature: "There was established a standard to which all science which did struggle up through this atmosphere must be made to conform—a standard which favored magic rather than science, for it was a stand-

ard of rigid dogmatism obtained from literal readings in the Jewish and Christian scriptures. The most careful inductions from ascertained facts were regarded as wretchedly fallible when compared with any view of nature whatever given or even hinted at in any poem, chronicle, code, apologue, myth, legend, allegory, letter, or discourse of any sort which had happened to be preserved in the literature which had come to be held as sacred" (ibid., i., 376).

This atmosphere, then, choked investigators and this standard dominated thought for twelve hundred years, and the poison of the one and the sword of the other have been powerfully potent for mischief to this very day—in fact, they are not yet innocuous, by any means. Whoever tried to investigate nature jeopardized his liberty and his life. Albert the Great sought to penetrate the arcana of nature, and, although he was high in the church, and although his chief effort was to Christianize science, "he was dealt with by the authorities of the Dominican order, subjected to suspicion and indignity, and escaped persecution for sorcery only by yielding to the ecclesiastical spirit of the time" (ibid., i., 377). So was the scientific work of the great Vincent of Beauvais in the first half of the twelfth century perverted into a mere useless commentary on the Genesal story of "creation." Scientific experimentation came during the Middle Ages to be generally looked upon as dangerous; this was another old idea, but it had not until the advent of Christianity led to any very extensive persecutions, as it did now. "White"—good—and "black"—bad, magic, came eventually to be classed

together as sinful and destructive and to be indiscriminatingly punished. "This severity went on increasing and threatened the simplest efforts in physics and chemistry; even the science of mathematics were looked upon with dread" (ibid., i., 383). The bull of Pope John XXII. in 1317, ostensibly aimed at the alchemists, was really a deadly blow to the beginnings of chemical science. Under liberty of experiment the alchemists themselves would have become chemists, often while the true chemists would have been encouraged to develop the science, just as the chemists now are developing it. John's bulls and briefs show that he was childishy superstitious, and wholly incapable of distinguishing between sorcery and science, or even of recognizing that there was such a thing as chemical science, or could be. From that time on chemistry became more and more to be known as one of the "seven deadly arts" (ibid. i., 384). The bulls of Eugene IV. in 1437 and 1445, the bull of Innocent VIII. in 1484, of Julius II. in 1504, and Adrian VI. in 1523 all designed to increase the severity of the persecution of magicians and witches operated to prevent the open beginnings of experimental science. Where Protestants competed with the Catholics for sovereignty, as in Germany, the result was more disastrous than elsewhere. Each faction was determined to prove itself more orthodox than the other. Whoever essayed to experiment for the augmentation of our knowledge of nature was sure to have the charge of "unlawful compact with Satan" hurled at him, and such a charge in such times was not lightly to be incurred. We find it used against every great investigator of nature in those times and

for ages after. The list of great men in those centuries charged with magic, as given by Naude, is astounding; it includes every man of real mark" (ibid., i., 385-86, Naude, "Apologie pour les Grands Hommes Soupconnes de Magie," and Maury, "Hist. de la Magie," troisieme ed., 214-15).

In 1163 Pope Alexander III., acting in conjunction with the Council of Tours, forbade ecclesiastics to study "physics or the laws of the world," under pain of excommunication (White, i., 386). Mr. White points out that more than three centuries before Francis Bacon advocated the experimental method, Roger Bacon practiced it. His method of work was the right one and the results he achieved were great. He insisted on experimenting, taking his reputation and his life in his hands. He was fought steadily and bitterly. He was condemned "on account of certain suspicious novelties," as his enemies expressly declared. Bonaventura, the great, General of the Franciscan order, to which Bacon belonged, forbade him to lecture (1257). Bacon's offenses were that he had explained the rainbow and other natural phenomena by scientific methods of reasoning, thus contradicting the Bible, and had made a "compact with Satan"! He was sent to Paris to be kept under the surveillance of the monastic authorities. When he defended himself by arguing that the idea of compacts with Satan was unscientific, fuel was added to the fire that threatened to consume him. Returning to Oxford, he prepared to perform a few experiments before a select audience. Immediately the college was in an uproar. The cry was "Down with the magician!" The Arabs had done much

for science, and this gave the opportunity to throw at Bacon's head the epithet of "Mohammedan!" "The two great religious orders, Franciscan and Dominican, then in all the vigor of their youth, vied with each other in fighting the new thought in chemistry and physics. St. Dominic solemnly condemned research by experiment and observation; the general of the Franciscan order took similar ground. In 1243 the Dominicans interdicted every member of their order from the study of medicine and natural philosophy, and in 1287 this interdiction was extended to the study of chemistry" (ibid., i., 386-89). "In 1278 the authorities of the Franciscan order assembled at Paris, solemnly condemned Bacon's teaching, and the general of the Franciscans, Jerome of Ascoli, afterward pope, threw him into prison, where he remained for fourteen years" (ibid., i., 389). When released he was eighty years of age. The world lost incalculably through the persecution of Roger Bacon. The progress of science was checked for centuries. The knowledge we now possess is far less than it would be had this colossal intellect been left free from the nagging and constricting of little priests.

Under the inspiration of the ecclesiastics, Charles V. of France forbade, in 1380, "the possession of furnaces and apparatus necessary for chemical processes." For violation of this edict, the chemist, John Barrillon, was imprisoned, and his life was saved with the greatest difficulty. In 1404 Henry IV. of England made a similar law. Venice did likewise in 1418. Of course, scientific research was impossible among the Christians of Spain, and they made the later efforts of the Moors and Jews futile



by persecution. Roger Bacon had given deadly offense by arguing against the reality of magic, and "centuries afterward, Cornelius Agrippa, Weyer, Flade, Loos, Bekker, and a multitude of other investigators and thinkers, suffered confiscation of property, loss of position, and even torture, and death, for similar views" (*ibid.*, i., 391). The theological atmosphere stifled scientific effort in the colleges and universities of Europe. In the latter half of the sixteenth century John Baptist Porta did fruitful work in Italy. He had founded a society for physical research; it was broken up, "and he was summoned to Rome by Pope Paul III. and forbidden to continue his investigations" (*ibid.*, i., 392-93). In 1624 the faculty of theology at Paris induced the Parliament to prohibit the new chemical researches, under the severest penalties. In 1657 the "Accademia del Crimento" was opened in Florence. Its president was Prince Leopold de' Medici. It promised much for science. But the ecclesiastics denounced it as irreligious, strife was incited, Leopold was given a cardinal's hat and in ten years the school was dead, Borelli, professor of mathematics, was a beggar, and in despair Oliva committed suicide (*ibid.*, i., 393). In Protestant England there was manifested the same opposition to the experimental method. So, too, in Germany. In England the theologians disliked the Royal Society, and later seriously opposed the Association for the Advancement of Science. When experimental teaching could no longer be suppressed the whole strength and ingenuity of the religious party was devoted to the task of perverting and sterilizing it. This vitiating work went on

for hundreds of years, and is now far from being wholly a matter of the past. Pseudo-science was everywhere, the outcome, as Mr. White tersely says, of a "welter of unreason." "Men have often asked how it was that the Arabians accomplished so much in scientific discovery as compared with Christian investigators, but the answer is easy—the Arabians were comparatively free from these theological allurements which in Christian Europe flickered in the air on all sides, luring men into paths which led no-whither" (*ibid.*, i., 397). Luther believed in the alchemistic doctrine of transmutation, and another writer found more than one hundred scriptural texts in support of that notion. This last was in 1751. Before the advent of Christianity wise men had formed correct theories concerning the presence of gases in mines, but "for ages the weight of theological thought in Christendom was thrown against the idea of the suffocating properties of certain gases, and especially of carbonic acid" (*ibid.*, i., 402). It was more in harmony with the usual view taken by religionists to attribute the manifestations of gases in mines and elsewhere to diabolic influence. A writer near the end of the sixteenth century complained that most of the mines in France and Germany had been abandoned because of the "evil spirits of metals which has taken possession of them" (*ibid.*, i., 403). In the next century, Van Helmont, after he had discovered several gases and the mode of their generation, was yet so much dominated by theology that he still believed they were in some sense living spirits, beneficent or diabolical." In 1715 a cellar-digger was stifled to death at Jena,

and the medical faculty of the university decided that he was not killed by the devil, directly, at least, but by a deadly gas. "Thereupon Professor Loescher, of the University of Wittenburg [Protestant] entered a solemn protest, declaring that the decision of the medical faculty was only 'another proof of the lamentable license which has so taken possession of us, and which, if we are not earnestly on our guard, will finally turn away from us the blessing of God' " (ibid., i., 404, and Julian Schmidt, "Geschichte des geistigen Lebens," i., 319). As late as 1868 in France, 1864 in England, and 1868 in Germany, desperate and concerted efforts were made by the theological party to give the death-blow to "irreligious science."

The primitive idea being that disease was a malicious trick of an evil god or the punishment sent by a good god for transgression, the curing of disease by the casting out of devils or by prayer are the means of relief from sickness recognized and commanded by the Bible, for the Bible was formed by the inflowing and settling of many ancient streams of thought, those streams holding in solution much superstition and a few grains of golden truth. As the Bible was believed to be a revelation from a perfect god, the worshipers of the book were wholly unable to separate superstition from the truth in the sediment thus deposited; they accepted all as equally good and true, and tortured and killed whoever tried to use any discrimination. This explains why Christian men for so many centuries fought the development of a science of medicine and insisted upon trusting to prayer and fetich and miracle instead. Miracles

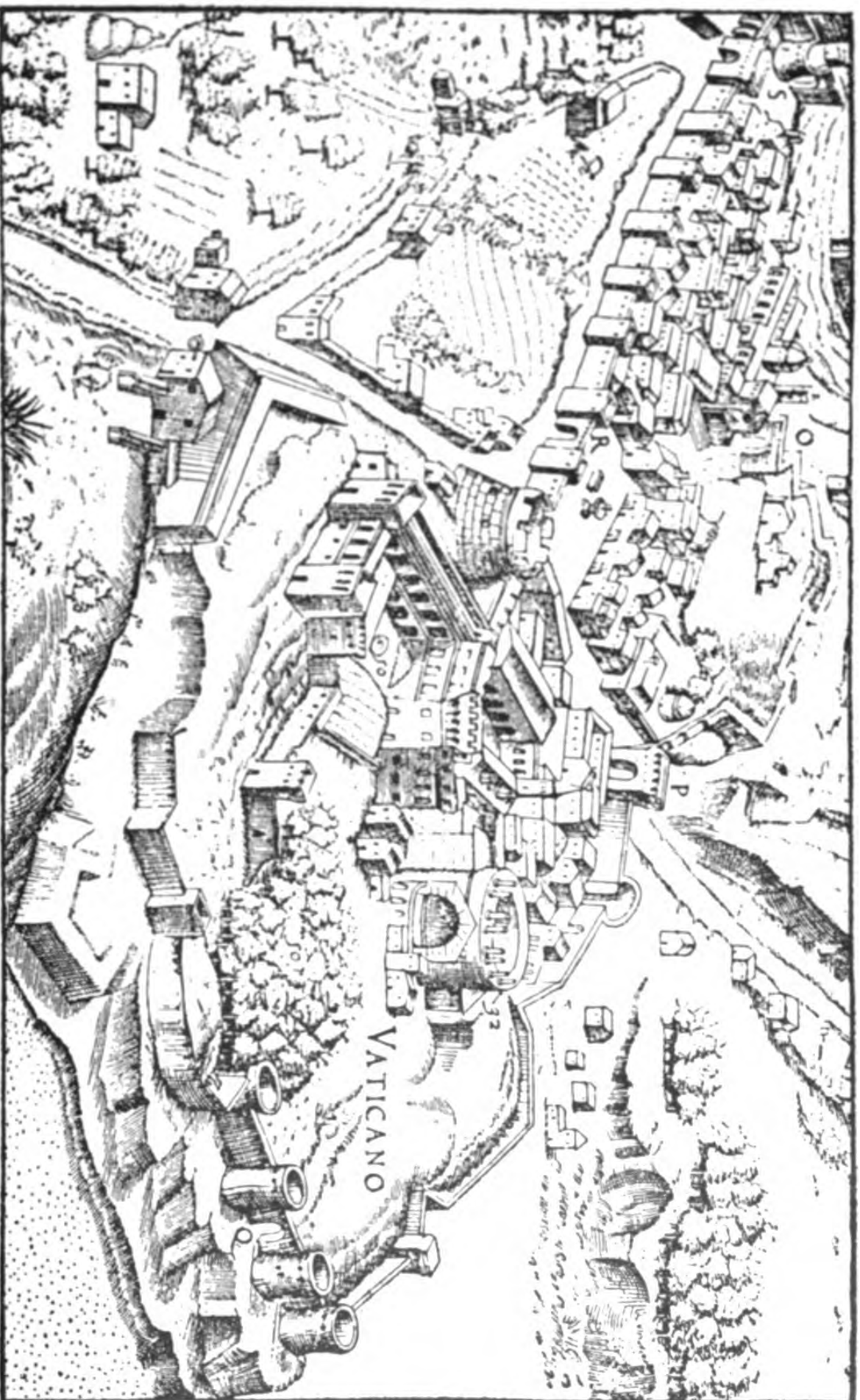
of cure in the early ages of the church were universally believed, and they were as marvelous as numerous. They were, as a rule, of the same types of those of which we read in the Bible. This was to have been expected. Cures were wrought at the shrines of saints (as had been done long before at the shrines of pagan divinities) by certain persons, by pools of water, by garments, and other relics, and by streams and sacred earth. Such cures are recorded to-day at both Catholic and Protestant shrines, where a small percentage of the devotees are favorably influenced by stronger wills, by expectation, by imagination, by excitement, by change of climate, food, and drink, by exercise, and other natural influences. There was nothing new in any of these types of miracles. All the older religions were familiar with them. They were natural manifestations of an animistic view of the universe. But in an age of science they are anachronisms, and belief in them has survived only because many of the people are yet in the animistic stage of development and powerful religious corporations are interested in maintaining the statu quo. To accept a natural explanation of disease and of the cures which sometimes occur at shrines would be to surrender one of the most fertile sources of revenue.

St. Ambrose declared that "the precepts of medicine are contrary to celestial science, watching, and prayer." "The vividness with which the accounts of miracles in the sacred books were realized in the early church continued the idea of miraculous intervention throughout the middle ages" (*ibid.*, ii., 26). "Instead of reliance upon observation, experi-

ence, experiment, and thought, attention was turned toward supernatural agencies" (ibid.). Origen said that it was demons which produced famines, corruption of the air, unfruitfulness, and pestilences. St. Augustine declared: "All diseases of Christians are to be ascribed to these demons; chiefly do they torment fresh-baptized Christians, yea, even the guiltless, new-born infants." This was in accordance with St. Paul's theory that the gods of the heathen were devils, and were, as a consequence, especially vindictive toward the Christians' deities, who had supplanted them. These views were shared and similar opinions expressed by Tertullian, Gregory of Nazianzus, St. Nilus, St. Gregory of Tours, and St. Bernard. The latter, in a letter to some monks, "warned them that to seek relief from disease in medicine was in harmony neither with their religion nor with the honor and purity of their order" (ibid., ii., 27, 28, and others there cited). From these and other considerations was developed a vast system of "pastoral medicine." Great revenues flowed into the monasteries and churches which possessed healing relics. Thus out of self-deception inevitably grew conditions that led to the deception of others. There was a constant temptation to engage in pious frauds. Often relics had a high commercial value. "The Emperor of Germany on one occasion demanded, as a sufficient pledge for the establishment of a city market, the arm of St. George. The body of St. Sebastian brought enormous wealth to the Abbey of Soissons; Rome, Canterbury, Treves, Marburg, every great city, drew large revenues from similar sources, and the Venetian republic ventured very

considerable sums in the purchase of relics" (ibid., ii., 29). It is no wonder that these vast "vested interests" felt unkindly toward any science that tended to depreciate the market value of their investments. "Even as late as 1517 Pope Leo X. issued, for a consideration, tickets bearing a cross and the following inscription: 'This cross measured forty times makes the height of Christ in his humanity. He who kisses it is preserved for seven days from falling sickness, apoplexy, and sudden death'" (Hausser, "Period of the Reformation," Eng. trans. 17). The old superstition against handling the bodies of the dead was greatly strengthened by the other superstition that the body is the temple of the Holy Spirit. Tertullian declared that the anatomist Herophilus was a butcher, and St. Augustine similarly characterized anatomists as a class. Still another superstition reinforced these and made the scientific study of the human body almost an impossibility for centuries. This was that dissection would interfere with the resurrection of the body at the "last day." It should be said, in passing, that the same objection has been offered in our day against cremation. The most hypocritical of objections was that urged in behalf of the Catholic church that she abhorred "the shedding of blood." On this transparent pretext, the Council of Le Mans in 1248 forbade monks to engage in surgery. Boniface VIII. issued a decretal forbidding the separation of the flesh from the bones in the case of crusaders whose bodies it was desired to return from the Holy Land to Europe ("Corpus Juris Canonici," Paris ed., 1618, pp. 866-67). This was generally con-

strued by churchmen to forbid dissections of all kinds, and for two hundred years it crippled surgery and medicine. For more than a thousand years under the rule of the church surgery was held to be dishonorable. About the only promoters of medicine and sanitary science during those dark ages were the Jews and the Mohammedans. The schools of Salerno and Montpellier were built up almost entirely by Jews, and while lamentably imperfect, measured by present standards, they were very much superior to the other schools of their times. Even in the church arose men who tried to do something for a science of medicine, as they understood it, but "unfortunately, they generally understood its theory as a mixture of deductions from scripture with dogmas from Galen, and its practice as a mixture of incantations with fetiches. Even Pope Honorius III. did something for the establishment of medical schools; but he did so much more to place ecclesiastical and theological fetters upon teachers and taught, that the value of his gifts may well be doubted" (White, ii., 35). In the sixth century Pope Gregory I. was inimical to the development of the science. At the beginning of the twelfth century the Council of Rheims forbade monks to study law or medicine, and a large number of later councils enforced the decree. Shortly after the middle of the twelfth century Pope Alexander III. forbade monks to study or practice medicine. Then followed a few churchmen who seem to have favored a more enlightened policy, "but in the beginning of the thirteenth century the Fourth Council of the Lateran forbade surgical operations to be practiced by priests, deacons, and subdeacons;



**The Vatican in Rome, at the Summer Solstice of the 16th Century.**



and some years later Honorius III. reiterated this decree and extended it. In 1243 the Dominican order forbade medical treatises to be brought into their monasteries, and finally all participation of ecclesiastics in the science and art of medicine was effectually prevented." The reader should bear in mind that this meant, practically, the prohibition of the study and practice of surgery, for the policy of the church had almost entirely closed all other avenues of preferment against educated men; if they expected to amount to anything they must take holy orders.

As supernatural means of cure were so abundant it was felt to be impious to appeal to the doctor. Did not the Bible show that King Asa had gone to the physicians instead of to Yahveh's priests and—had died? Many churchmen feared the school of Salerno because it prescribed rules for diet, thus countenancing the heresy that disease was due to natural causes, rather than to the malice of Satan. Hippocrates had said that demoniacal possession is "nowise more divine, nowise more infernal than any other disease," and Hippocrates was taught at Salerno. This of itself was enough to condemn the school. About the beginning of the thirteenth century the Lateran Council forbade physicians, "under pain of exclusion from the church, to undertake medical treatment without calling in ecclesiastical advice." Nearly two hundred and fifty years later Pius V. renewed the command, with penalties for disobedience. He also ordered that if, after three days' treatment, the patient had not confessed to a priest, the doctor should abandon treatment. If he did not abandon it, he would be

deprived of his right to practice and would be expelled from the faculty, if he held a chair. All physicians must make oath that they were complying with these conditions (*ibid.*, ii., 36, 37). All of this meddling and surveillance led to the classing of men of science with sorcerers and magicians. So rigorously were physicians proscribed that even monarchs often could not secure the services of one. The Jews led in the science of medicine, but it was deemed an insult to God that those who rejected the means of salvation should presume to cure the bodies of Christians, God's own children. "Preaching friars denounced them from the pulpit, and the rulers in church and state, while frequently secretly consulting them, openly proscribed them" (*ibid.*, ii., 44). "Popes Eugene IV., Nicholas V. and Calixtus III. especially forbade Christians to employ them. The Trullan Council in the eighth century, the Councils of Beziers and Alby in the thirteenth, the Councils of Avignon and Salamanca in the fourteenth, the Synod of Bamberg and the Bishop of Passau in the fifteenth, the Council of Avignon in the sixteenth, and many others, expressly forbade the faithful to call Jewish physicians or surgeons" (*ibid.*). In the middle of the seventeenth century the clergy of Hall in Wurtemberg vowed that "it were better to die with Christ than to be cured by a Jew doctor aided by the devil" (White, ii., 44, 45, and many authors cited).

When Protestants came upon the scene the leaders of the new movement initiated no reform in the attitude of religion toward medical science. Luther said that "Satan produces all the maladies

which afflict mankind," and that "he poisons the air." In England there developed as nowhere else the idea that the king could cure by a touch, especially epilepsy and scrofula. Hence comes the name of "king's evil" for scrofula. Edward the Confessor seems to have been the first ruler in England who possessed this remarkable power, and from the eleventh century down it passed from reign to reign, as Mr. White remarks, "from the Catholic saint to Protestant debauchees upon the English throne, with ever-increasing miraculous efficacy." No miracles were ever better-attested than those thus wrought by such sovereigns as Henry VIII. and Charles II. The latter touched nearly one hundred thousand persons, and the cost of the gold medals struck to commemorate his cures some years reached as high as ten thousand pounds. Mr. White notes in passing that while in no other reign were so many touched for scrofula and in no other were so many cured, as solemnly certified by veracious men, so also in no other did so many die of the disease, as the bills of mortality show. The wise and truthful old chroniclers assert that the change of dynasty "from the legitimate sovereignty of the Stuarts to the illegitimate succession of the House of Orange," did not diminish the efficacy of the royal touch, for even those touched by William III., who regarded the act as one of simple superstition, went away healed! The church of England accepted the doctrine as is proven by the special service in the "Prayer-Book" of that period (*ibid.*, ii., 45, 49).

In Spain as late as the close of the eighteenth century the circulation of the blood was denied in

the Spanish medical schools, a century and a half after Harvey and Sarpi had established the fact. In the same century, Bernoulli "having shown that the living human body constantly undergoes a series of changes, so that all its particles are renewed in a given number of years, so much ill-feeling was drawn upon him, from theologians, who saw in this statement danger to the doctrine of the resurrection of the body, that for the sake of peace he struck out the argument on this subject from his collected works" (*ibid.*, ii., 52, 53). In Scotland, England, and New England in the eighteenth century it was considered "flying in the face of providence" to attempt to prevent smallpox, that God sent it as a judgment, and that "to avert it is but to provoke him more." In South America the natives greatly value coca, but the Second Council of Lima, in 1567, condemned it, and in 1569 a royal decree declared that "the notions entertained by the natives regarding it are an illusion of the devil." In Europe the introduction of quinine was bitterly fought by the orthodox Protestants, and it was not used in England until 1653, because of hostility to the Catholic church, some of whose adherents had learned its worth from the South American natives. As Eufame Macalyane, a lady of rank, had, in 1591, been "charged with seeking the aid of Agnes Sampson for the relief of pain at the time of the birth of her two sons," and "was burned alive on the Castle Hill of Edinburgh," it is not strange that when the Scottish physician, James Young Simpson, advocated the use of anesthetics in childbirth he was savagely assailed on all sides, and told that what he proposed was

"to avoid one part of the primeval curse on woman" (ibid., ii., 55, 63). Summing up the history of the long struggle between religion and medicine, Mr. White says that two main facts are to be noted: "First, that in proportion as the world approached the 'ages of faith' it receded from ascertained truth, and in proportion as the world has receded from the 'ages of faith' it has approached ascertained truth; secondly, that in proportion as the grasp of theology upon education tightened, medicine declined, and in proportion as that grasp has relaxed, medicine has been developed" (ibid., ii., 65-6).

Great pestilences swept over Europe in the Middle Ages, as they had in earlier times devastated that and other portions of the world. The Black Death and the sweating sickness were the most terrible of these epidemics. It is estimated that of the former half the population of England died at the middle of the fourteenth century, and at least twenty-five millions in all parts of Europe. In Paris 67,000 people died in 1552 and 20,000 in 1580. Another fearful plague appeared in the seventeenth century in England and other parts of Europe, and one in southern Europe in the early part of the eighteenth century, besides several epidemics of cholera in the nineteenth century. Pestilences were from the earliest times attributed to the anger of good gods or the malice of evil gods. Even cultivated Greece was not free from the sway of the delusion, and the coming of Christianity did nothing to lighten the gloom of this superstition. The Bible gave abundant encouragement to the idea that disease, especially if it killed many people at once, was sent for the punishment of sin. So it



### The Monk-Calf.

Caricature of the Ignorance of the Middle Age Monks. Fly leaf of the Reformation Times.

has happened that almost to our own time—and indeed to our own time in some parts of the Christian world—“at the appearance of any pestilence the church authorities, instead of devising sanitary measures, have very generally preached the necessity for immediate atonement for offenses against the almighty” (ibid., ii., 68). Then the belief that comets, falling stars, and earthquakes were heralds of divine visitations of wrath, did much to add to the panic caused by a pestilence, or to induce the development of disease where it had not already appeared. But uncleanness of the body and unsanitary conditions of living were the chief causes of epidemics, both in the Eastern centers where they originated and in Europe where they spread. “Out of the Orient had been poured into the thinking of western Europe the theological idea that the abasement of man adds to the glory of God; that indignity to the body may secure salvation to the soul; hence, that cleanliness betokens pride and filthiness humility. Living in filth was regarded by great numbers of holy men, who set an example to the church and to society, as an evidence of sanctity. St. Jerome and the breviary of the Roman church dwell with unction on the fact that St. Hilarion lived his whole life long in utter physical uncleanness; St. Anthanasius glorifies St. Anthony because he had never washed his feet; St. Abraham’s most striking evidence of holiness was that for fifty years he washed neither his hands nor his feet; St. Sylvia never washed any part of her body save her fingers; St. Euphraxia belonged to a convent in which the nuns religiously abstained from bathing; St. Mary of Egypt was emi-

nent for filthiness: St. Simon Stylites was in this respect unspeakable—the least that can be said is, that he lived in ordure and stench intolerable to his visitors. The 'Lives of the Saints' dwell with complacency on the statement that, when sundry Eastern monks showed a disposition to wash themselves, the Almighty manifested his displeasure by drying up a neighboring stream until the bath which it had supplied was destroyed" (ibid., ii., 69, and authors cited).

During the prevalence of the Black Death nine hundred Carthusian monks died in one group of buildings. The Carmelite monks suffered especially, and they were more than usually filthy. In 590 eighty persons died in an hour in a procession in Rome that was interceding with heaven for the cessation of the plague. Shortly afterward, Pope Gregory the Great, at the head of another procession, "saw hovering over the mausoleum of Hadrian the figure of the archangel Michael, who was just sheathing a flaming sword, while three angels were heard chanting the Regina Coeli" (Gregorovius, "Geschichte der Stadt Rom im Mittelalter," ii., 26-35). Gregory hailed this as a sign of the cessation of the plague, and to-day the colossal statue of the archangel sheathing his sword perpetuates the legend. This was the way in which the church taught sanitary science, but it was very profitable to her. Wherever there was a fetich that was believed to have wrought cures or to be capable of doing so, there money and jewels and deeds of land were laid upon the altar of the church. "It was noted that in the fourteenth century, after the great plague, the Black Death, had passed, an



immensely increased proportion of the landed and personal property of every European country was in the hands of the church. Well did a great ecclesiastic remark that 'pestilences are the harvests of the ministers of God'" (White, ii., 71, and Buckle, i., 130, note). As St. Paul had declared that the gods of the pagans were devils and as they were naturally supposed to congregate in the amphitheater at Rome, their old home, it occurred to some Christians during the plague of 1522 that it might be well to try to placate them. So "an ox decorated with garlands, after the ancient heathen manner, was taken in procession to the Colosseum and solemnly sacrificed. Even this proved vain, and the church authorities then ordered expiatory processions and ceremonies to propitiate the Almighty, the Virgin, and the saints, who had been offended by this temporary effort to bribe their enemies" (White, ii., 72). The Jews, having more knowledge of hygienic living than had the Christians, did not suffer so severely from the Black Death and other epidemic diseases, which immunity brought upon them the suspicion of the Christians, who thought they must be under the protection of Satan, who had given them the power to kill the followers of Christ. The result was that tens of thousands of the unhappy Jews were tortured and murdered by the authorities and by mobs, on the charge of having caused the plague. This mad persecution prevailed everywhere in continental Europe. Pope Clement VI. was the one prominent churchman who did what he could to save the Jews. Sometimes the inhabitants of a city would promise a dead saint that if he would

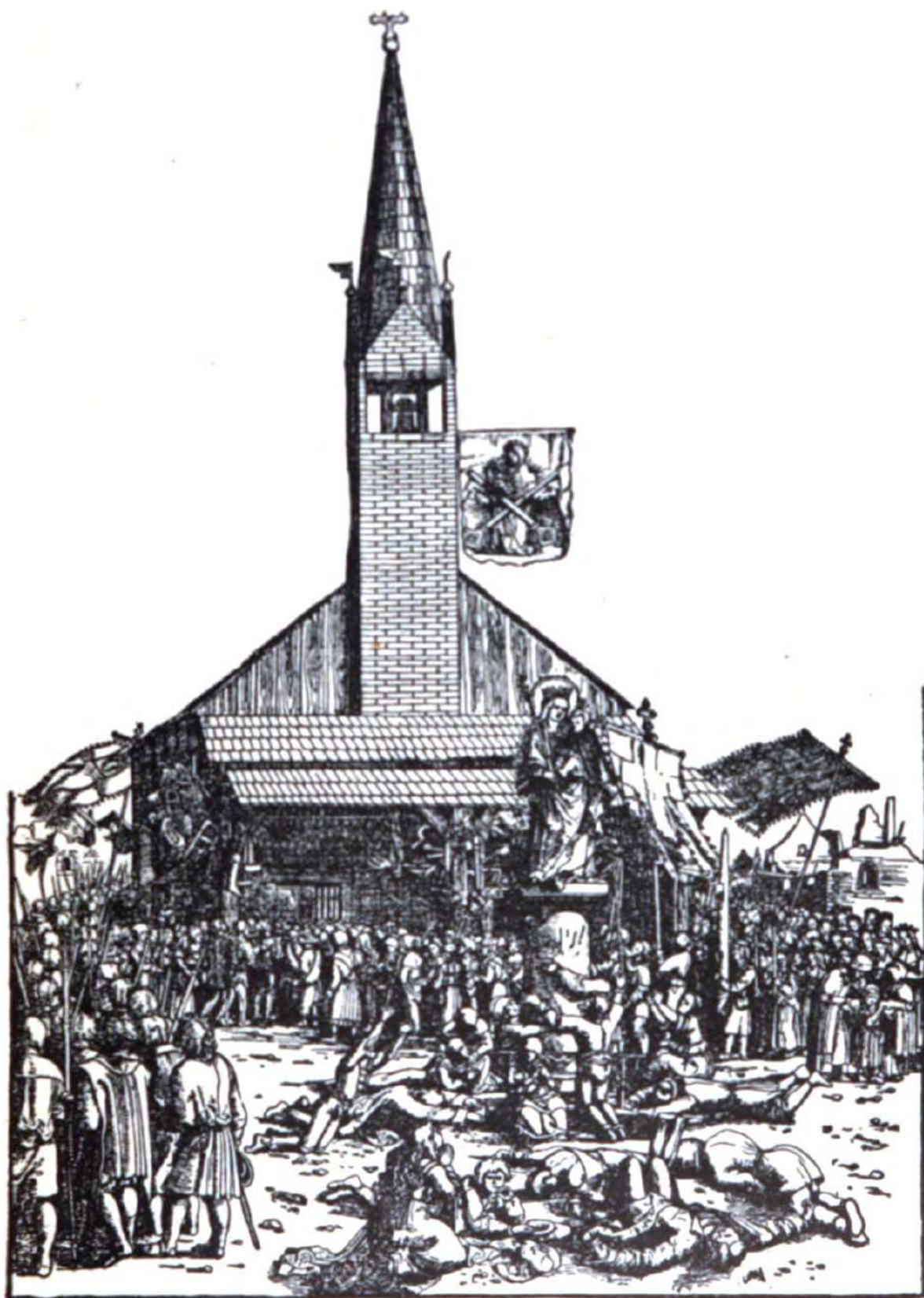
stay the plague they would expel the Jews. This happened, for instance, at Pavia in 1527 (*ibid.*, ii., 74). In some districts nine out of ten of the people perished. But the slaves of superstition have in many cases learned nothing. The miracle of the liquefaction of the blood of St. Januarius is even yet resorted to in Naples. Mr. White saw it performed there in the cathedral in 1856.

In England in the seventeenth century the plague was fought chiefly with special church services. There it was generally attributed to "the prophaning of the Sabbath." "Texts from Numbers, the Psalms, Zechariah, and the Apocalypse were dwelt upon in the pulpits to show that plagues are sent by the Almighty to punish sin; and perhaps the most ghastly figure among all those fearful scenes described by De Foe is that of the naked fanatic walking up and down the streets with a pan of fiery coals upon his head, and, after the manner of Jonah of Nineveh, proclaiming woe to the city [London], and its destruction in forty days" (*ibid.*, ii., 83). So foul were the prisons that the jail fever rivaled the plague in destructiveness. The awful ravages of the diseases developed a special form of prayer, which found its way into the Irish "Prayer Book." Religious incantations were the chief reliance against epidemics during the first half of the eighteenth century. In Scotland the same ideas concerning pestilences prevailed, and as a natural result "between the thirteenth and seventeenth centuries thirty notable epidemics swept the country" (*ibid.*, ii., 87). Of course they were given a wholly theological significance, in spite of the utter filthiness of the Scottish towns and cities. "The old

theological theory, that 'vain is the help of man,' checked scientific thought and paralyzed sanitary endeavor" (ibid.). The progress of sanitary science—like the progress of every other science—was retarded for hundreds and hundreds of years by the Christian religion, as even Christian scholars now sorrowfully confess. The application of the principles of sanitation has reduced the death rate enormously; for some very instructive figures see the second volume of Andrew D. White's work, pages 91 to 93, inclusive.

That insanity is the result of physical disease is a modern addition to the knowledge of the world, so far as the appreciation of the fact by a considerable body of people is concerned. The old notion was that it was the result, generally, of demoniacal possession. So said the sacred books and the metaphysicians. Between the two ideas there has been waged a long bitter warfare. Five centuries before the beginning of the Christian era Hippocrates of Cos affirmed that "all madness is simply disease of the brain." In the succeeding centuries this thought was extended by Aretaeus, Soranus, and Galen. "In the third century [of the Christian era] Celsus Aurelianus received this deposit of precious truth, elaborated it, and brought forth the great idea which, had theology, citing biblical texts, not banished it, would have saved fifteen centuries of cruelty—an idea not fully recognized again till near the beginning of the present [19th] century—the idea that insanity is brain disease and that the treatment of it must be gentle and kind" (ibid., ii., 99). Alexander of Tralles, in the sixth century, and in the seventh, Paul of Egina, made further obser-

ventions, but laid most stress on the conclusions of Aurelianus. Nearly all this fruitful work, before Paul of Egina, was done under pagan auspices, while the latter's observations were carried on under the protection of Caliph Omar (*ibid.*). This great truth was forgotten; why? Because "there set into the early church a current of belief" which resulted during many centuries in the infliction of tortures, "physical and mental, upon hundreds of thousands of innocent men and women—a belief which held its cruel sway for nearly eighteen centuries; and this belief was that madness was mainly or largely possession by the devil" (*ibid.*). From still earlier religions the Jews received and passed on to the Christians the superstition of the agency of evil spirits in insanity. Looking upon insanity as possession the early Christians soon developed a system of treatment that was at first generally kind, though foolish, upon the whole. Patients not too violent were admitted to religious services, and their cure was sought by means of "holy water, sanctified ointments, the breath or spittle of the priest, the touching of relics, visits to holy places, and submission to mild forms of exorcism" (White, *ii.*, 101-2). With such treatment was mingled sometimes what looked like attempts at medical dosing, as this: "A drink for a fiend-sick man, to be drunk out of a church-bell: Githrife, synoglossum, yarrow, lupin, flower-de-luce, fennel, lichen, lovage. Work up to a drink with clear ale, sing seven masses over it, add garlic and holy water, and let the possessed sing the 'Beati Immaculati'; then let him drink the dose out of a church bell, and let the priest sing over him the 'Domine Sancte Pater



**Pilgrimage Church and Plague Prayer-Bands.**

In the Foreground are seen the Despairing and the Dying.  
After a Woodcut from about the year 1500.

Omnipotens.' " But this was not the end: the idea of satanic possession led to most deplorable consequences. It was thought that the indwelling demon must be punished; "the treatment of lunatics tended more and more toward severity; more and more generally it was felt that cruelty to madmen was punishment of the devil residing within or acting upon them" (ibid., ii., 103). There were some efforts to resist this tendency. "But all in vain; the current streaming most directly from sundry texts in the Christian sacred books, and swollen by theology, had become overwhelming" (ibid.).

In the beginning of the twelfth century Michael Psellus issued his book, "The Work of Demons." His two richest contributions to the science of theological insanity were that as demons suffer by fire and brimstone, they must have material bodies, and since they are all by nature cold, "they gladly seek a genial warmth by entering the bodies of men and beasts." He had no difficulty in proving the first proposition by the Bible and St. Basil. In spite of the legacy from the Greeks, in spite of the Arabian physicians, in spite of the school of Salerno, and even in spite of the partial sanity of some religious orders, "it became dangerous even to name possible limits to diabolical power. To deny Satan was Atheism" (White, ii., 104). In this connection there were "more and more constant citations of the text, 'Thou shalt not suffer a witch to live.'" There was much Christian charity in the Middle Ages, but the humanitarian work came to a dead stop when the creed was encountered; the insane were the children of the devil; ergo, nothing could be done for them. Here

and there a little was done, but "curiously enough," remarks Mr. White, "the only really important work in the Christian church was stimulated by the Mohammedans" (*ibid.*, ii., 105). This was true in the fifteenth as well as in the eighteenth century. In the latter John Howard found that "the Arabs and Turks made a large and merciful provision for lunatics." In the Christian "mad-houses" the chief work done was the casting out of devils, "mainly by cruelty." Art, legend, and literature gave full recognition to the diabolical in mental and physical disease. "What wonder, then, that men and women had vivid dreams of Satanic influence, that dread of it was like dread of the plague, and that this terror spread the disease enormously, until we hear of convents, villages, and even large districts, ravaged by epidemics of diabolical possession! (*ibid.*, ii., 111-12). As devils could enter into animals the latter were "exorcised, tried, tortured, convicted and executed." The municipal register of Thonon for 1731 contains this entry: "Resolved, That this town join with other parishes of this province in obtaining from Rome an excommunication against the insects, and that it will contribute pro rata to the expenses of the same" (*ibid.*, ii., 113). Luther believed that insanity was caused by Satan, and he himself used the remedy of exorcism ("Table Talk," Hazlitt's trans., 251-52). "'I would myself burn them' [witches], he says, 'even as it is written in the Bible that priests stoned offenders.' To him demoniacal possession was a fact clear as noonday; idiocy, lunacy, epilepsy, and all other mental and nervous disorders were due to it. Hence, a move-



ment whose intent appeared to be the freeing of the human spirit riveted more tightly the bolts that imprisoned it; arresting the physical explanation of mental diseases and that curative treatment of them which is one of the countless services of science to suffering mankind. To Luther, the descent of Christ into hell, which modern research has shown to be a variant of an Orphic legend of the underworld, was a real event, Jesus going thither that he might conquer Satan in a hand-to-hand struggle" (Clodd, *Pion. Evo.*, 87). Of those who affirmed that insanity was a natural malady, the great Protestant Beza said "Such persons are refuted both by sacred and profane history" (Beza, "Notes on the New Testament," *Mat. iv.*, 24). Calvin accepted the same view. One popular orthodox cure for possession—insanity—was insomnia. For days and nights together the unfortunate victims of disease or of the malice of "witch-finders" were not permitted to sleep, or even to rest, the one cruelty more than any other calculated to drive mad the sane and to aggravate the malady of those already unbalanced. And the result? "A great modern authority tells us that, although modern civilization tends to increase insanity, the number of lunatics at present is far less than in the ages of faith and in the Reformation period" (White, *ii.*, 119).

"From the earliest period it is evident that monastic life tended to develop insanity . . . but it was especially the convents for women that became the greatest breeding-beds of this disease. . . . Noteworthy is it that the last places where executions for witchcraft took place were in the



neighborhood of great nunneries. . . . The same thing was seen among young women exposed to sundry fanatical Protestant preachers" (ibid., ii., 121). The skeptical spirit at last caused the belief in demoniacal possession to wither and droop. Montaigne did much in France in the sixteenth century to prepare the way for intellectual and moral revolt in the next century. But as the light was broadening in the east came Bossuet, Bishop of Meaux, and gave the weight of his learning and authority to the side of reaction. He said: "A single devil could turn the earth round as easily as we turn a marble" (ibid., ii., 124, and works cited). Thus the current of theology became again seemingly irresistible; however, French skepticism continued to do its work; it was developing; even St. Andre, a court physician, dared to argue virtually that demoniacal possession was lunacy; Voltaire and Montesquieu and their successors strengthened the rationalizing movement; at last the Parliament of Paris in 1768 declared that "possessed" persons are to be considered as simply diseased (ibid., 124-25). In England John Wesley did what he could to keep alive the doctrine that insanity is the result of Satanic machinations. In Germany and Austria the fight was long-continued and bitter but science conquered in the end and the insane were taken out of the hands of the priest. At Wemding in southern Germany, in 1892, an hysterical boy was "exorcised" by the Capuchin Father Aurelian, who accused a peasant woman, Frau Herz, of bewitching him. Her husband sued Father Aurelian for slander. "The latter urged in his defense that the boy was possessed of an evil

spirit, if anybody ever was; that what had been said and done was in accordance with the rules and regulations of the church, as laid down in decrees, formulas, and rituals sanctioned by popes, councils, and innumerable bishops during ages. All in vain. The court condemned the good father to fine and imprisonment. As in a famous English case, 'hell was dismissed with costs?' " (ibid., ii., 128). Two centuries ago the woman would have been tortured and burned as a witch. And yet we are asked what science and Freethought will give the world in place of the Bible and the church! In America the belief in demoniacal control dominated; the Mathers were zealous against the idea that insanity was a result of physical disease.

"Sir Thomas More ordered acknowledged lunatics to be publicly flogged." In the sixteenth century in England "Bethlehem Hospital was reported too loathsome for any man to enter." It was no better in the two succeeding centuries. But reform was coming. In America the Friends established a small hospital for the insane in 1751. Twenty years later Virginia did the same. "In this case, as in so many others, from France was spread and popularized not only the skepticism which destroyed the theological theory, but also the devotion which built up the new scientific theory and endowed the world with a new treasure of civilization" (ibid., ii., 129-30). The French Revolution enabled Pinel to institute reforms at Bicetre, one of the largest asylums in France, on the lines suggested by Tenon, La Rochefoucauld-Liancourt, and the commission their investigation had created. "What the exorcisms and fetiches and prayers and processions, and

drinking of holy water, and ringing of bells, had been unable to accomplish during eighteen hundred years, he achieved in a few months" (ibid., ii., 131). Fitting exercise, kindness, suitable surroundings, did the work. At the death of Pinel "Esquirol took up his work; and in the place of the old training of judges, torturers, and executioners by theology to carry out its ideas in cruelty, there was now trained a school of physicians to develop science in this field and carry out its decrees of mercy" (ibid., ii., 132). Could there be a better object lesson of the essential and ineradicable difference between religion and science? In England flogging and starvation had been favorite methods of treating the insane. In 1789 John Howard found far better asylums in Constantinople than was St. Luke's in London. In 1792 William Turke began at York a work similar to that inaugurated the same year by Pinel in France. Of course he was bitterly antagonized by the pious. The Edinburg Review fiercely assailed his work, and Pinel's. "All men seem to desert me," wrote Turke at that time. Dr. Pangster published that year his "Observations on Mental Disorders," and summing up his futile theology-guided examination into the causes and nature of insanity, he says with owl-like gravity: "Here our researches must stop, and we must declare that 'wonderful are the works of the Lord, and his ways past finding out'" (ibid., ii., 133). The spirit of Pangster lingered in the great hospitals of England even as late as 1850, but Turke's labors have borne rich fruit at last.

When the theologians were compelled to give up their position regarding individual cases of lunacy,





**A Self-Flagellating Penitent.**  
After a Woodcut by Albert Durer, 1510.



many of them continued to contend that epidemics of possession were beyond the explanations of science, that they were caused by Satan. Naturally, they found Bible texts with which to defend the new fortifications to which they had retreated. Such epidemics of nervous disease are recorded in the histories of all times; they are divided into epidemics of convulsions, raving, dancing, flagellation, jumping, singing, and dissipation, and are what may be called imitative diseases. Most of the sufferers were women, although many men, generally of sedentary habits, were afflicted. There were hundreds and sometimes thousands affected at once. The biting mania originated in a German nunnery in the fifteenth century, where, a nun having been seized with a passion for biting her sister-nuns, the example was followed by them and the infection spread to other nunneries in Germany, into Holland, and over the Alps into Italy. A mania of mewing like a cat started in a French convent and spread. In 1611 at Aix a man of note, Gauffridi, was burned at the stake as the cause of an epidemic of possession. A priestly exorcist named Michaelis boasted that he had driven sixty-five hundred devils from the possessed (*ibid.*, ii., 135-43). Often knavery played a prominent part in these epidemics. Such was the case in the epidemic of convulsions and the like which seized the inmates of a convent at Loudun, in France. It was skillfully manipulated to cause the destruction of a priest—Urbain Grandier—a brilliant preacher and writer, who had enemies among his fellow clerics. Grandier appealed to the Archbishop of Bordeaux and a new investigation was ordered.

When the nuns were separated from each other and the hostile monks the testimony so glaringly contradicted itself that Grandier was acquitted. But his enemies did not rest; Cardinal Richelieu ordered a third investigation, when the convent became a bedlam, and plenty of "evidence" was secured. After torture Grandier was hanged and burned (Trollope, "Sketches from French History," London, 1878). This is one of the almost innumerable instances where a popular superstition has been utilized to secure the destruction of enemies. Mr. White tersely remarks, "the cardinal doctrine of a fanatic's creed is that his enemies are the enemies of God." A trembling mania broke out among the refugee Huguenots in the Cevennes in the reign of Louis XIV. Also manias of leaping and screaming. Such epidemics prevailed in America as well as in Europe. Robert Calef, a merchant of Boston did very much to controvert the arguments of Cotton Mather and other clergymen and laymen who contended for the reality of possession and wanted to exterminate the possessed. Following the New England epidemics came a number in France. At the tomb of the Archdeacon of Paris—who died in 1727—many miracles were performed. English investigators went over and pronounced them genuine cures. The Jesuits—the enemies of the Jansenists, to which faction Paris had belonged—also admitted the reality of the miracles, but attributed them to Satan. It was in vain that medical men showed that they were due to natural causes. That was too simple an explanation to satisfy the marvel-hungry populace, and interested ecclesiastics. The government closed the gates of

the cemetery so that the crowds could not approach the tomb, and the miracles ceased. But the contagion spread elsewhere, and it was only when "the charm of novelty had worn off and the afflicted found themselves no longer regarded with especial interest, that the epidemic died away" (White, ii., 145-56).

In 1760 a leaping mania broke out among the Calvinistic Methodists in Wales. This originated the sect of the "Jumpers." The mania has since appeared in England and several times in this country. In 1780 in France at the orthodox Catholic church of St. Roch, in Paris, where many young girls were collected, one fell in convulsions. Soon fifty or sixty were in the same state. The contagion spread to other churches, and was very hard to curb; some of the results were most painful. In the Shetland Isles a woman had convulsions in church and soon many other persons were in contortions, and wild shriekings rent the air. "A very effective cure proved to be a threat to plunge the diseased into a neighboring pond" (ibid., ii., 157). For many more instances of these imitative performances see the second volume of Mr. White's work, 157 to 163, and the other authors cited by him.

In the third edition of the *Encyclopedia Britannica*, printed in 1797, the orthodox view was thus stated, in the article on "Demoniacs": "The reality of demoniacal possession stands upon the same evidence with the gospel system in general." This frank statement of the truth was modified in two or three of the subsequent editions by the assertion that those talking in the New Testament

narratives "adopted the vulgar language in speaking of those unfortunate persons who were generally imagined to be possessed with demons." Here we have the inevitable disingenuous attempt to compromise in the retreat before advancing rationalism and science. But science pushed steadily on, although the myth-making faculty exerted itself to explain the cures wrought by medicine, as, for instance, when Dr. Rhodes at Lyons, at the close of the eighteenth century, cured a bad case of "possession," by the giving of an emetic, it was reported and widely believed that "when the emetic produced its effect people had seen multitudes of green and yellow devils cast forth from the mouth of the possessed" (*ibid.*, ii., 165). The old superstition dies hard, as is shown by the frantic protest of a high Catholic ecclesiastic in France, that "to deny possession by devils is to charge Jesus and his apostles with imposture," and by the protest of Dean Burgon in England against the substitution of "epileptic" for "lunatic" in Matthew xvii., 15. We can join heartily with the Christian Mr. White in hoping "that Satan, having been cast out of the insane asylums, will ere long disappear from monasteries and camp meetings, even in the most unenlightened regions of Christendom," but we cannot resist the conviction that when that time comes several other essential pieces of the Christian machine will be on the way to oblivion.

How science has dissipated the dense and poisonous clouds that obscured the problem of mental derangement is briefly told in these lines: "Among the many facts thus brought to bear upon this last stronghold of the Prince of Darkness may be



named especially those indicating 'expectant attention'—an expectation of phenomena dwelt upon until the longing for them becomes morbid and invincible, and the creation of them perhaps unconscious. Still other classes of phenomena leading to epidemics are found to arise from a morbid tendency to imitation. Still other groups have been brought under hypnotism. Multitudes have been found under the innumerable forms and results of hysteria. A study of the effects of the imagination upon bodily functions has also yielded remarkable results. And, finally, to supplement this work, have come in an array of scholars in history and literature who have investigated myth-making and wonder-mongering" (*ibid.*, ii., 166).

"Whence came language?" Each nation answers that it was given complete by its chief god—in the case of the Hebrews, by Yahveh. But the people of Europe and their descendants in America, having no god of their own, adopted the god of the Jews, and with him the idea that the Hebrew was the original language, and was bestowed on his "chosen people" by said Yahveh. Science says that language is a growth, coextensive with the development of man, and that the Hebrew was very far from being the primitive form of human speech. "How came the diversity of language?" Theology had several answers, according to the habitat of the theologian, but at bottom they were one—the deity had directly interfered to cause confusion, as a punishment for sin of some kind. This solution was in accordance with the "law of wills and causes," formulated by Comte. That law is: When men do not know the natural cause of

things, they simply attribute them to wills like their own. This is what may be called the working principle of all supernaturalism. The Warfare of Science has been caused by the stubborn refusal of religionists to accept demonstrated natural explanations of phenomena in place of this guess of the primitive man.

The Tower of Babel myth was the Bible explanation of the diversity of language. But that myth was borrowed from the Chaldeans, as the Assyrian researches of George Smith, Sayce, Oppert, and others abundantly show. The Babel story "wrought into one fabric the earlier explanations of the diversities of human speech and of the great ruined tower of Babylon. The name Babel (bab-el) means 'gate of God' or 'gate of the gods.' All modern scholars of note agree that this was the real significance of the name, but the Hebrew verb, which signifies to confound, resembles somewhat the word Babel, so that out of this resemblance, by one of the most common processes in myth formation, came to the Hebrew mind an indisputable proof that the tower was connected with the confusion of tongues, and this became part of our theological heritage" (ibid., ii., 170-71). As Rev. Mr. Sayce says, the Chaldean legend "takes us back to the age when the gods were believed to dwell in the visible sky, and when man, therefore, did his best to rear his altars as near them as possible." Mr. White significantly adds that it also takes us back to the time when Yahveh, if he would see the tower fully, must "come down from his seat above the firmament." Other forms of the legend were known in India, in Mexico, in Greece,



**Servants Fight About Religion.**  
(In the Swiss See. Reformation Period, about 1518.)

while Plato has given voice to still another form. (See many authorities cited by Mr. White, ii. 173.) Christianity, accepting the legend borrowed by the Jews, fought desperately for centuries to maintain the position that God gave the Hebrew language to man, that it was the original language, and that the confusion of tongues was caused by the blasphemous attempt of the tower-builders to reach heaven (just above the firmament). Lucretius had proposed an inadequate theory, but one pointing in the direction of the truth. None of the early fathers, with the exception of St Gregory of Nyssa, seems to have doubted the absolute verity of the Bible legend, and he struggled in vain against the orthodox view. Opposed to him was the influence of Origen, Jerome and Augustine. Although the vowel points and accents in the Hebrew were not adopted until sometime between the second and the tenth century of the Christian era the medieval church insisted that those points were a part of the revelation of God, a portion of the original divine language—to doubt it was to be a hell-deserving heretic. Right here began the warfare between religion and science in the field of philology. Glimpses of the truth regarding the vocal points were given in the thirteenth and sixteenth centuries. The Reformation strengthened the sacred theory of languages. Zwingli dissented on the question of the divine origin of the points, but he was almost alone. In the seventeenth century the fight over the rabbinical points waxed hot; Capellus, professor of Hebrew at Saumer, in France, having challenged their heavenly origin. Quite a number of eminent men, in both divisions of the

church, now took the progressive side, but it seemed that they would be literally buried under the avalanche of orthodox opinion and authority. "The Swiss Protestants were especially violent on the orthodox side." Bossuet, the greatest theologian of France, strove to crush the recalcitrant Catholic brethren in vain; the battle was won for the rationalistic view, in spite of the adverse majority of numbers. But even in the eighteenth century desperate efforts were made to fan the breath of new life into the old dogma. Danzius, Professor of Oriental Languages in the University of Jena, declared that "religion itself depends absolutely on the infallible inspiration, both verbal and literal, of the Scripture text" (*ibid.*, ii., 174-79).

The next philological struggle was over the theory that the Hebrew language was the original language—given directly and perfect by God to Adam. From the revival of Learning down Hebrew had been receiving increased attention and all the Hebrew grammars asserted for the language a divine source and completeness. It was ever referred to as "the sacred tongue." The "*Margarita Philosophica*," published in 1508, clinched the argument by reminding the world that "Christ himself by choosing a Hebrew maid for his mother, made that his mother tongue!" "English and Latin dictionaries appeared in which every word was traced back to a Hebrew root. No supposition was too absurd in this attempt to square science with scripture. It was declared that, as Hebrew is written from right to left, it might be read either way, in order to produce a satisfactory etymology. The whole effort in all this sacred scholarship was, not to find what

the truth is—not to see how the various languages are to be classified, or from what source they are really derived—but to demonstrate what it was supposed necessary to maintain, what was then held to be the truth of scripture; namely, that all languages are derived from the Hebrew.” Dr. William Whitaker, of Cambridge, wrote in 1588 that “God himself showed the model and method of writing when he delivered the Law written by his own finger to Moses” (For all, *ibid.*, ii., 179-81, and many authorities there cited). This theory carried everything before it for a time in the seventeenth century. “Great prelates, Catholic and Protestant, stood guard over it, favoring those who supported it, doing their best to destroy those who would modify it.” To get from the Hebrew to the Aryan group of languages any juggling was praiseworthy. To derive words wanted it was permissible to add, subtract, and invert letters. In France, Germany, England, Holland, Switzerland, and America, the great men of both churches made the most extravagant claims for the Hebrew. Only those who “seek to win vainglory for their own sophistry” would deny these claims, it was declared. Well may Mr. White, when referring to the alignment of the great English scholar Bentley on the orthodox side, speak of “the power of the theologic bias, when properly stimulated with ecclesiastical preferment” (*ibid.*, ii., 182-88).

The sacred theory seemed impregnable to assault; “it seemed to bid defiance forever to advancing thought.” But the scientific giant was born and he was growing. In 1661 Hottinger of Heidelberg had suggested that the confusion of tongues was

of two kinds; the Arabic and Chaldaic being only partial; the Egyptian, Persian, and the European languages, total. Here was found "that idea of grouping and classifying languages which at a later date was to destroy utterly the whole sacred theory." Then came Leibnitz near the close of the seventeenth century; he declared that "to call Hebrew the primitive language is like calling the branches of a tree primitive branches." Good work was done by the Jesuit Hervas and others, but all through the eighteenth century the Babel story continued "to hinder or warp scientific investigation." There was great philological confusion. Various comical attempts were made by local patriots to prove that their language or dialect was the primitive tongue and that it had come through Babel unharmed. There were efforts at compromise, showing that the orthodox had scented danger and were preparing to about face as gradually and gracefully as possible. During the latter part of the eighteenth century began the study of Sanskrit. The Babel confusion champions were alarmed and angered; "not only was the dogma of the multiplication of languages at the Tower of Babel swept out of sight by the new discovery, but the still more vital dogma of the divine origin of language, never before endangered, was felt to be in peril, since the evidence became overwhelming that so many varieties had been produced by a process of natural growth" (ibid., ii., 189-94). Consequently, every possible effort was put forth to discredit the new learning. It was held that the naming of the animals by Adam was proof of his prophetic wisdom and of the divinity of the Hebrew language; he wrote

"the nature of things upon their names," said Dr. South. Closely related to the origin of language was the origin of letters, and John Johnson, vicar of Kent, argued that God kept Moses forty days at a time in the mountains in order to teach him to write. According to this theory, and that of others, the alleged writing on the hypothetical tables of stone was the first copy set. But studies in Comparative Philology demonstrated that Hebrew letters were not the first known to man, and it was shown that in the Chinese sacred books the animals had been named by Fohi, "and with such wisdom and foresight that every name disclosed the nature of the corresponding animal." Still the orthodox fort held out. In 1788 James Beattie of Oxford and in 1804 Adam Clarke led sorties against the beleaguering hosts of science. In France in the first half of the nineteenth century De Maistre, De Bonald, and Lamennais attempted to disprove by scripture the contention of Cordillac that "languages were gradually and insensibly acquired, and that every man had his share in the general result." Later, Lamennais himself "though offered the highest church preferment, and even a cardinal's hat, braved the papal anathema, and went over to the scientific side" (*ibid.*, 195-200).

In Germany the tide had set into the scientific sea and the feeble counter currents of orthodoxy were lost in the flood. So likewise came to naught the usual attempts at compromise and reconciliation. On the continent by the middle of the nineteenth century the scientific view of the development of language and letters held the field against all foes, but in England "leaders in every orthodox church



and sect vied with each other, either in denouncing the encroachments of the science of language or in explaining them away" (*ibid.*, ii., 201). Among the belated defenders of an exploded myth was W. E. Gladstone; "he floats airily over all the impossibilities of the original Babel legend and all the conquests of science, makes an assertion regarding the results of philology which no philologist of any standing would admit, and then escapes in a cloud of rhetoric after his well-known fashion" (*ibid.*, ii., 203). But the fight was over, so far as men of any culture were concerned. Dr. Wiseman, later Cardinal Archbishop of Westminster, surrendered, with the characteristic orthodox "I told you so." Of the method he exemplified Mr. White keenly and wittily says: "It consists in stating, with much fairness, the conclusions of the scientific authorities, and then in persuading one's self and trying to persuade others that the church has always adopted them and accepts them now as 'additional proofs of the truth of scripture.' A little juggling with words, a little amalgamation of texts, a little judicious suppression, a little imaginative deduction, a little unctuous phrasing, and the thing is done." The climax of audacity in expression was reached when Dr. John Eadie, Professor of Biblical Literature and Exegesis, of the Presbyterian Church of Scotland, declared that "Comparative philology has established the miracle of Babel." If he did not know better he did not know anything. The simple fact is that Hebrew is now known to be not only not the original or oldest language, but not even the oldest in the Semitic group (*ibid.*, 205, 206).



**The Provisioning of the Cloister.**  
**Satirical Engraving on the Monks.**

In Greece, in India, in Teutonic countries, in Celtic lands, in Siam and Ceylon and China, America and Japan and Africa, wonderful stories are told of the cause and meaning of isolated rocks, of scattered boulders, of basaltic columns, of caverns and chasms, and other similar natural formations and rents in the earth. Palestine has such phenomena also, and one of these is the salt pillars of Usdam by the Dead Sea. About these have grown up innumerable myths concerning the asserted escape of Lot and his daughters and the transformation of Lot's wife into a salt column. The Dead Sea is about fifty miles long and ten wide, and is thirteen hundred feet below the level of the Mediterranean. It has no outlet, and into it flow, among others, the waters collected by the Sea of Galilee. The river Jordan is the channel of transmission. It is a very old lake, and there are many evidences of volcanic action sufficient to have powerfully stimulated the myth-making tendency. There are mineral and hot springs, and sulphurous odors abound. Earthquakes have often occurred, which have cast up masses of bitumen. "Concretions of sulphur and large formations of salt constantly appear." The northern part of the sea is three hundred feet deep. The villages of Phrygia, it is said, refused hospitality to Zeus and Hermes, and so were submerged beneath a lake and morass. Similarly there is the legend that the valley of Siddam was sunk below the waters of the Dead Sea. In the Greek story Philemon and Baucis were saved. In the Bible story Lot and his family were preserved.

Until the present century the church strenuously insisted that the Bible story of the turning of

Lot's wife into a pillar of salt was confirmed by the existence on the shore of the Dead Sea of the identical pillar. There is a range of low hills near the southwest corner of the Dead Sea; the hills are composed mainly of rock salt, which is soft and friable. Naturally the rains constantly changed the forms of the columns, and "Lot's Wife" appeared in many places during thousands of years along that five miles of hilly shore line. Sometimes these columns are washed into a resemblance to the human form. To the imaginative Oriental it was nothing strange that Yahveh should blast that land for the sins of the people, nor that he should transform Lot's wife into a perpetual reminder of the danger of looking back to the homes of the wicked from which God is guiding one. Such judgments and such transformations are common in the legendary lore of every people. As to the Lot's wife myth, the identity of the pillar in the salt region of Usdam with the regretful Mrs. Lot was believed by Jew, Christian, and Moham-medan—"always, everywhere, and by all." The belief was abundantly confirmed by Old and New Testament texts, by the testimony of Josephus, who affirmed that he had seen it, and by an unbroken succession of travelers and writers, who told stories regarding it and the surrounding country each more marvelous and incredible than the last. It was solemnly declared by great fathers and rabbis and lay believers that the statue could not be washed away by rains, nor overthrown by storms; that wounds made in it were healed as by miracle, and the functions of life were manifested by it, the claim being made that the



bitumen of the region could be dissolved only by the fluids thus exuded. Anything thrown into the Sea would sink, it was said; man could not swim in it; birds trying to fly over it would fall dead; the bitumen upon its surface "resembles gold and the form of a bull or camel"; the "very beautiful apples growing there," when plucked, "burn and are reduced to ashes, and smoke as if they were still burning"; the Dead Sea was the "mouth of hell," and the vapor there arising came from the devil's furnaces: later the veracious author of the travels of Sir John Mandeville finds that iron floats on and feathers sink in the wonderful fluid of the Sea, although he "was not willing to believe it" until he "saw it," which is somewhat surprising, for millions of other Christians, and also Jews and Mohammedans, believed the story Mandeville told without seeing the marvel (*ibid.*, ii., 209-30). Mr. White charitably remarks that we should not do the compilers of these novels the injustice of "holding them liars of the first magnitude. They simply abhorred skepticism, and thought it meritorious to believe all pious legends." It is to be presumed that this charity is to be extended to the original romancers who affirmed that they had themselves seen all these impossible things. In 1418 the Lord of Caumont visited the spot. As he had formed the pious theory that the holy waters of the Jordan could not be permitted to mingle with the accursed flood of the Dead Sea, he saw with "the eye of faith, and calmly announced that the Jordan water passes through the Sea, but that the two masses of water are not mingled" (*ibid.*, ii., 231). He was but one of the many "eye-witnesses" of

marvels that were never seen by the eye of sense.

If no statue appeared for a time, it was easy to suppose that the saline lady had descended into the Dead Sea depths; if the rains had washed several rough forms into view, "that simply made the mystery more impressive." In 1555 the priest Gabriel Giraudet was successful in his search for Lot's wife; "he says that he found her 'lying there, her back toward heaven, converted into salt stone; for I touched her, scratched her, and put a piece of her into my mouth, and she tasted salt'" (ibid., ii., 235). As to the effect upon these pious beliefs of the appearance of Protestantism, "it rather strengthened them and fixed them more firmly in the popular mind" as well as created a demand for new ones. And they came; furnished by both Catholics and Protestants. Near the close of the seventeenth century the Protestant Christopher Heidmann found Lot's wife still giving signs of functional activity. But about a century earlier there had begun to be manifested some faint symptoms of skepticism. Now and then a traveler, preacher, or commentator allowed his reason a little free play, concerning this, that, or another marvel. But this growing habit of more careful observation and comparison of observations necessarily stimulated the orthodox party into making a desperate effort to crush out the heresy forever. The Catholic, Eugene Roger, for instance, not only found superabundant confirmation of the Dead Sea legends, but he also identified a great number of the other "historical" places in Palestine, including the spot where Balaam's ass spoke, the tree on which Absalom was hanged, the spot from which Elijah

went up in the chariot of fire, the place in the water where the whale swallowed Jonah, and "where St. Peter caught one hundred and fifty-three fishes" (*ibid.*, i., 232-40). The forces of credulity and rationalism contended with varying fortunes until the middle of the eighteenth century, when there appeared evidences of the inevitable efforts at compromise. In 1758 Bachiene's "Sacred Geography" was published in Holland. It leaned strongly to the old view, but was rationalistic in many respects. Nine years later it was translated into German, and the translator's notes show that the reasoning spirit is rapidly developing. He suggests that instead of an instantaneous transformation of Lot's wife into the column of salt, "she was caught in a shower of sulphur and saltpetre, covered by it, and that the result was a lump, which in a general way is called in our sacred books, 'a pillar of salt'" (*ibid.*, ii., 245).

From this time on to the beginning of the nineteenth century the rationalistic current steadily gained strength. Many religious travelers, and others not religious, as Volney, threw more and more doubt upon the monstrous stories of the early romancers. Then, too, exact science came to play its part in the determination of the geological and biological history of the region. However, just at the dawn of the new century Chateaubriand led a reaction in favor of the old gross superstitions. His brilliant but shallow rhetoric captured the fancies of men and he had many imitators, especially in France. But the army of science pressed on; the German naturalist, Ulrich Seetzen, found the fruits that "turned to ashes" and discovered

that they were like fruits of the same species in other localities; he ate some of them with much satisfaction. Other investigators disposed of others of the fanciful legends which for centuries had been accepted by Christendom as the very truth of God. In the cold light of fact all the phenomena of the region about the Dead Sea were seen to be due to purely natural causes. From the armory of religion is taken a complete outfit of miracle-weapons. There are the usual attempts at compromise and reconciliation, and a dishonest endeavor to shift the responsibility for the myth upon the shoulders of the Mohammedans. Thus, the Rev. Cunningham Geikie, in his "The Holy Land and the Bible," published in 1887, says, in his description of the salt formations at Usdam: "Here and there hardened portions of salt withstanding the water, while all around them melts and wears off, rise up isolated pillars, one of which bears among the Arabs the name of 'Lot's wife'" (ibid., ii., 246-61). Of course Geikie knew that the Mohammedans did not originate the story; he knew that it came from the Jews and had been adopted and defended through all its history by the Christian church, in accordance with the guiding principle that whatever appears in the Bible is to be accepted as the truth of God. Other latter-day Christians, visiting Palestine, find it convenient to ignore the pillar of salt myth entirely. "Remember Lot's wife," commands the New Testament, but the average Christian forgets her when he is in danger of being laughed at if he remembers her; that shows his respect for his fetich. The ignorant rank and file of the church will of course for



an indefinite length of time continue to believe in the legend of Mrs. Lot's transformation, but for the educated men in both great divisions of the church the story is as completely discredited as the tale of Jonah and the whale.

How unreliable are the traditions concerning the origin of so-called sacred books is shown by the legends associated with the translation of the chief books of the Old Testament into Greek. In the third century before Christ there were many Jewish scholars at Alexandria. That they should make a translation of the books named was perfectly natural; there was no necessity for supernatural intervention. But myths and legends sprung up as luxuriantly as weeds in a fallow field. On the side of those favorable to the translation it was said that "the Ptolemy then on the Egyptian throne had, at the request of his chief librarian, sent to Jerusalem for translators; that the Jewish high priest, Eleazar, had sent to the king a most precious copy of the scriptures from the temple at Jerusalem, and six most venerable, devout, and learned scholars from each of the twelve tribes of Israel; that the number of translators thus corresponded with the mysterious seventy-two appellations of God: and that the combined efforts of these seventy-two men produced a marvelously perfect translation" (*ibid.*, ii., 289). But the legend was not done growing, for later it was said that "King Ptolemy ordered each of the seventy-two to make by himself a full translation of the entire Old Testament, and shut up each translator in a separate cell on the island of Pharos, secluding him there until the work was done; that the work of

each was concluded in exactly seventy-two days, and that when, at the end of seventy-two days, the seventy-two translations were compared, each was found exactly like all the others. This showed clearly Jehovah's approval" (ibid.). On the other hand, there grew up an entirely different legend. This was among the Jews who regarded the Greek version as a profanation. This hostile legend asserted that when the work was done "there was darkness over the whole earth during three days. This showed clearly Jehovah's disapproval." If such legends could be developed and be believed by millions in a comparatively enlightened period and area of the earth, what would not develop regarding the origin of sacred books in earlier and more ignorant times and countries when, as Mr. White remarks, "men explain everything by miracle and nothing by law"? "The exponent of each great religion proves to his own satisfaction, and to the edification of his fellows, that their own sacred literature is absolutely accurate in statement, infinitely profound in meaning, and miraculously perfect in form. From these premises he also arrives at the conclusion that his own sacred literature is unique; that no other sacred book can have emanated from a divine source; and that all others claiming to be sacred are imposters" (ibid., ii., 290-91). Thus does the ex-president of Cornell University "hold the mirror up to nature" for the confusion of his fellow-Christians.

It naturally follows that when the books composing the sacred literature of a religion are "once selected and grouped they come to be regarded as a final creation from which nothing can be taken

away, and of which even error in form, if sanctioned by tradition, may not be changed." An infallible revelation from his God, the believer holds it to be blasphemous to change even a mark of punctuation in his fetich. Thus sacred books inevitably become anchors to hold the ship of humanity rotting in the stagnant harbors of the dead past. In this connection, note how reluctant the Christians of Europe, America, Australia and the rest of the world are to use the Revised version of the Bible, although all competent critics admit that it is much more faithful to the earliest manuscripts than is the old version.

"Still another law is that when once a group of sacred books has been evolved—even though the group really be a great library of most dissimilar works, ranging in matter from the hundredth Psalm to the Song of Songs, and in manner from the sublimity of Isaiah to the off-hand story-telling of Jonah—all come to be thought one inseparable mass of interpenetrating parts; every statement in each fitting exactly and miraculously into each statement in every other; and each and every one, and all together literally true to fact, and at the same time full of hidden meanings" (*ibid.*, ii., 292). A ludicrous climax of this theory is the rabbinical assertion "that each passage in the law has seventy distinct meanings, and that God himself gives three hours every day to their study." This theory of the unity and infallibility of the sacred books leads to the injection of mystic meanings and the allegorizing of the text when advancing knowledge and developing morals show men the limitations of their paper oracle. Thus "eminent divines of the

nineteenth century" give "a non-natural sense to some of the plainest statements in the Bible" when men come to perceive that that work makes Yahveh "practice trickery, cruelty and high-handed injustice, which would bring any civilized mortal into the criminal courts" (ibid.). As oracles, the Hebrew and Christian scriptures have been an unmitigated curse to humanity, as literature, history, poetry, and legend they have their uses—of how much value we can never determine until we have utterly ceased to regard them as oracles.

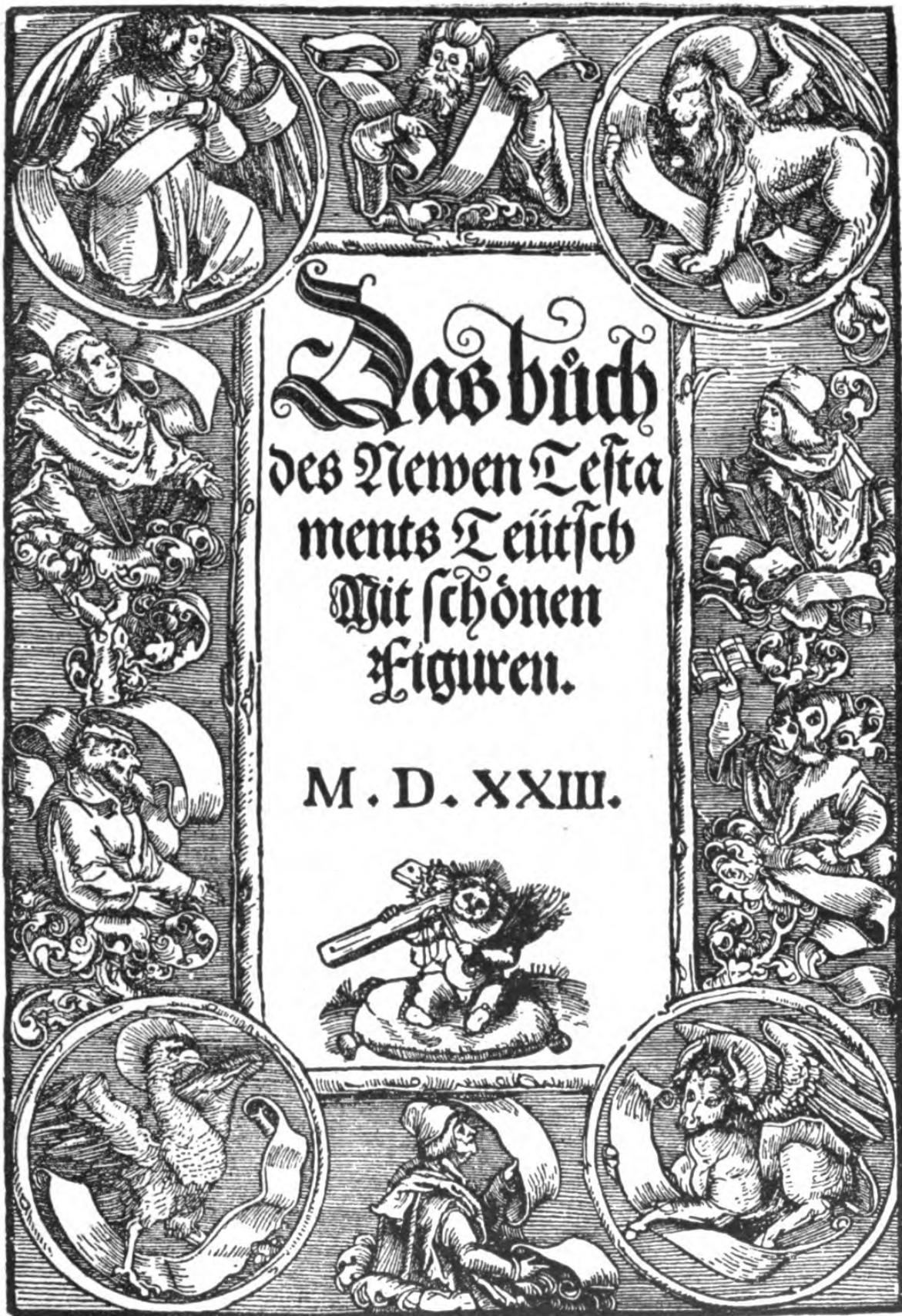
Wondrous were the airy fabrics of divine mystery woven with certain numerals. With their aid the Chaldeans and the Egyptians dreamed wondrously, but the Jews and Christians greatly developed the heritage of foolishness they received from those of other sources. Josephus thought that because there were twenty-two letters in the Hebrew alphabet there must be twenty-two sacred books in the Old Testament, while Hilary of Poitiers argued for twenty-four books because there were that many letters in the Greek alphabet. "Irenaeus insisted that there could be neither more nor fewer than four gospels, since the earth has four quarters, the air four winds, and the cherubim four faces; and he denounced those who declined to accept this reasoning as 'vain, ignorant, and audacious'" (ibid., ii., 296-97). Origen, Augustine, Jerome, and St. Gregory the Great were experts in the interpretation of scripture by means of numbers. They succeeded in fastening the system on the church for a millennium and a half. Among the more insane of their other interpretations may be mentioned these: Augustine agreed with St.

Cyprian that the drunkenness of Noah prefigured the sufferings and death of Christ; Origen held that the ass upon which Jesus rode into Jerusalem was the Old Testament, the foal the New, while the angels who went to loose them were the moral and mystical senses, and Augustine contended that the ark being pitched within and without with pitch signified "the safety of the church from the leaking in of heresy." In the ninth century St. Agobard tried to stem this torrent of unreason, but he was unheeded. In the same century John Scotus Erigena essayed the same task, arguing that the fathers often contradict each other, and that reason must decide between them. Two councils placed Erigena under the ban, and a synod pronounced his work "*Commentum Diaboli*." After four centuries Pope Honorius ordered it to be burned "and finally, after eight centuries, Pope Gregory XIII. placed it on the Index, where . . . it remains to this day" (*ibid.*, ii., 301-2). So, under the fostering care of the church the mountain of fable continued to grow. In the twelfth century Hugo of St. Victor said, "Learn first what is to be believed." That is, accept dogmas; then find or interpret texts to confirm them. Even Savonarola in the fifteenth century clung desperately to the old system of imaginative interpretation.

But in this century the critical spirit became manifest. Lorenzo Valla by "truly scientific methods" "proved the famous 'Letter of Christ to Abgarus' a forgery; the 'Donation of Constantine,' one of the great foundations of the ecclesiastical power in temporal things, a fraud; and the 'Apostles' Creed' a creation which post-dated the apos-

ties by several centuries" (ibid., ii., 303). Valla did much other good work which he could not have done either earlier or later, for the reason that the pontiff of his time was more devoted to literature than to orthodoxy. North of the Alps Erasmus was trying to purify the scripture text, but he seemed to accomplish nothing. He dropped out of his edition of the New Testament the passage in the fifth chapter of the First Epistle General of St. John regarding the "three witnesses," as it was not to be found in any of the early manuscripts, being manifestly an interpolation of a zealot of the fifth century. For this he was fiercely assailed by prelates and monks in England, Spain and France; the University of Paris condemned him and pronounced several propositions of his heretical and impious. He could not personally be reached by the worst of the bigots, but his disciple, Berquin, was burned at Paris in 1529. So valuable is this text as a support of the doctrine of the Trinity, that although the nineteenth century revisers rejected it, the "Anglican church still retains it in its lectionary, and the Scotch church continues its use of it in the Westminster Catechism" (ibid., i., 305). Thus it has been in multitudes of instances in the long struggle between the divine oracles and the truth.

"On the coming in of the Reformation the great structure of belief in the literal and historical correctness of every statement in the scriptures, in the profound allegorical meanings of the simplest texts, and even in the divine origin of the vowel punctuation, towered more loftily and grew more rapidly than ever before. The Reformers, having



**Title Page of the New Testament.**

**The first German Issue of the Bible. From the year 1523.**

cast off the authority of the pope and of the universal church, fell back all the more upon the infallibility of the sacred books" (ibid., ii., 305). "It [Protestantism] disputed the claims of the Church to be the sole interpreter of Scripture, and contended that such interpretation was the right and duty of the individual. But it would not admit the right of the individual to call in question the authority of the Bible itself; to that book alone must a man go for knowledge of things temporal as of things spiritual. So that the Reformation was but an exchange of fetters, or, as Huxley happily puts it, the scraping of a little rust off the chains which still bound the mind. 'Learning perished where Luther reigned,' said Erasmus, and in proof of it we find the Reformer agreeing with his coadjutor, Melancthon, in permitting no tampering with the written Word" (Clodd, ibid., 86). "Peter Martyr, one of the early Lutheran converts, in his Commentary on Genesis, declared that wrong opinions about the creation as narrated in that book would render valueless all the promises of Christ. Wherein he spoke truly" (ibid.). "To the greater number of Protestant ecclesiastics" the "authority of scripture" "meant the authority of any meaning in the text which they had the wit to invent and the power to enforce" (White). At the beginning of the eighteenth century there appeared scarcely any ground for hope that the Christian world would ever throw off the burden of the infallible Word. All divisions of the church were crushed under its weight. It was taken for granted that the Bible was written in the exact words dictated by God. Genesis was a miraculously exact account of the



creation of life on the earth. In it are contained, declared Pfeiffer, a Lutheran general superintendent, or bishop, of northern Germany, "all knowledge, human and divine;" it is "the source of all sciences and arts, including law, medicine, philosophy and rhetoric;" "the source and essence of all histories and all professions, trades, and works;" "an exhibition of all virtues and vices;" "the origin of all consolation" (Zoeckler, "Theologie und Naturwissenschaft," i., 688-89). We are all familiar with these claims, claims insisted upon to-day by the overwhelming numerical majority of the 140,000 clergymen in the United States, and accepted by an equally overwhelming majority of their followers. "The statement in Genesis that God made the universe and its contents, both living and non-living, in six days of twenty-four hours each, was explicit" (Clodd, *ibid.*, 103).

Aben Ezra near the middle of the twelfth century cautiously called attention to some of the discrepancies in the Pentateuch, especially those which militated against the theory which attributed the authorship of the whole of the five books to Moses, but he credited his criticisms to "a rabbi of a previous generation, and having veiled his statement in an enigma, added the caution, 'Let him who understands hold his tongue'" (White, ii., 313). Four centuries passed and then two more "Higher Critics" appeared, one the Protestant, Carlstadt, and the other the Catholic, Andreas Maes. Their heresies were very mild, but Carlstadt was promptly silenced, while the work of Maes was placed in the Index. The Revival of Learning was coming, however, and evolution did

its work. Through differentiation come new thoughts, new ways of looking at creeds and institutions, new methods of investigation. The "Decretals of Isidore" were proved from the internal evidence to be false; the writings ascribed to Dionysius the Areopagite, the Athenian convert of Paul, were investigated critically and found to be pious frauds. Following these exposures of writings hitherto universally supposed to be only less sacred than the Bible itself, came as already shown, the exposures made by Valla, and the work of Erasmus. There was arising an atmosphere in which criticism could live and thrive; Doubt and Reason, the courier and the guide of Progress, no longer were compelled to look out always upon the world through the yellow flames curling about the stake. As an instructive side-light on Catholic fidelity to truth, take the admission of the "Catholic Dictionary" that the mass of the pseudo-Isidorian Decretals "is what we would now call forgery" (Articles, "Dionysius the Areopagite" and "False Decretals"). About the middle of the seventeenth century Hobbes and La Peyrere carried farther the researches thus begun; Hobbes was put in the company of the outcasts, even by the political party that greatly needed his services; La Peyrere was imprisoned and kept in confinement until he retracted everything. The Parliament of Paris ordered his book burned by the hangman. In 1670 Spinoza showed that Moses could not have written the Pentateuch in its late form; he might have composed some of the extinct books from which it was compiled. So much is to be credited to Spinoza; on the other hand there is to be

debited to him the statement from which has been derived that modern "last resort" of the cornered theologian—the "sacred scripture contains the word of God"—now so often used as a "cyclone cellar" when the storm of facts has demolished the temple of biblical inerrancy. "When about 1880, it was proposed to erect a monument to him at Amsterdam, discourses were given in churches and synagogues prophesying the wrath of heaven upon the city for such a profanation; and when the monument was finished, the police were obliged to exert themselves to prevent injury to the statue and to the eminent scholars who unveiled it" (*ibid.*, ii., 314-18).

In France, Richard Simon, a priest, issued his "Critical History of the Old Testament," in which he disproved again the Mosaic authorship of the Pentateuch, and he also showed that other parts of the Old Testament had been compiled from older works. At once Bossuet moved; the book was ordered suppressed and the whole edition was burned, with the exception of a few copies, which were rescued. But Bossuet was not able to suppress all of Simon's later works, although he drove him from the Oratory, and "brought him into disrepute" (*ibid.*, i., 320-21). Le Clerc did some excellent critical work, but was at last obliged to half recant. This does not so much matter, for he was the originator of one of those shuffling attempts to save the divinity of Jesus which has been a source of great mischief from his day to this. To those who objected to the rejection of Moses as the author of the Pentateuch, on the ground that Jesus and his apostles had

recognized him as such, Le Clerc made this sophistical answer: "Our Lord and his apostles did not come into this world to teach criticism to the Jews, and hence spoke according to the common opinion." All through the eighteenth century the mountain of orthodox interpretation grew higher while at its foot ran ever swifter and stronger the current of rationalistic criticism. The erosion was sure to topple the mountain over sometime. Eichhorn was able to show that the style of the Bible "is not supernatural and unique, but simply the Oriental style of the lands and times in which its various parts were written." He was met on every hand with opposition and contempt. Isenbiehl, a priest of Mayence, was sent back to the benches, among the primary pupils, in the theological school, on the pretense that he had not rightly learned the scriptures, because he suggested—what is now known to all educated men—that the passage in Isaiah which is still claimed by orthodox believers to refer to Jesus, "had reference to events looked for in older Jewish history." He was twice imprisoned; Pope Pius VI. declared in a brief that Isenbiehl's book was "horrible, false, perverse, destructive, tainted with heresy," and excommunicated all who read it (*ibid.*, ii., 323-25). Herder demonstrated that the Psalms were by different authors of different periods, and he cleared the Song of Solomon of its mystical meanings, revealing it as simply an Oriental love-song. As Calvin and Beza had persecuted Castellio to starvation and death for his efforts to show the Song in its true light, and as Philip II. had "allowed Luis de Leon, for a similar offense, to be thrown

into a dungeon of the Inquisition and kept there for five years, until his health was utterly shattered and his spirit so broken that he consented to publish a new commentary on the Song, 'as theological and obscure as the most orthodox could desire,' " so Herder was driven from pastorate to pastorate until he took refuge at Weimar with Goethe, Wieland, and Jean Paul (*ibid.*, ii., 325-26). During the nineteenth century the higher critics have had their own way; those of Germany and Holland especially have contributed enormously to the flood of light now pouring upon the Bible, revealing its sources and elucidating its meaning. The oldtime opposition to new thoughts was directed against them with zeal and malevolence, but they won the battle. Speaking of Gesenius and Ewald, Mr. White remarks: "To them and to all like them during the middle years of the nineteenth century was sturdily opposed the colossus of orthodoxy—Hengstenberg. In him was combined the haughtiness of a Prussian drill-sergeant, the zeal of a Spanish inquisitor, and the flippant brutality of a French orthodox journalist. Behind him stood the gifted but erratic Frederick William IV.—a man admirably fitted for a professorship of esthetics but whom an inscrutable fate had made King of Prussia. Both these rulers in the German Israel arrayed all possible opposition against the great scholar laboring in the new paths" (*ibid.*, ii., 328).

Almost simultaneously Vatke, Reuss, and Kuenen demonstrated that "the complete levitical law had been established not at the beginning, but at the end of the Jewish nation—mainly, indeed, after the Jewish nation as an independent political body had

ceased to exist; that this code had not been revealed in the childhood of Israel, but that it had come into being in a perfectly natural way during Israel's final decay—during the period when heroes and prophets had been succeeded by priests" (ibid., ii., 330). This explained why "Samuel, David, Elijah, Isaiah, and indeed the whole Jewish people down to the exile, showed in all their utterances and actions that they were utterly ignorant of that vast system of ceremonial law which, according to the accounts attributed to Moses and other parts of our sacred books, was in full force during their time and during nearly a thousand years before the Exile" (ibid., ii., 329). Among this "mass of ceremonial law" was the law of Sabbath observance, a law of which the Jews knew nothing until the Exile, and which our theocrats and the United States Supreme Court would thrust upon the American people as a law given by God to Moses. Scientific criticism showed that the literature of Israel was a development, not a revelation. In showing this it gave a mortal wound to ecclesiasticism, which had fought its work at every step.

The introduction of the higher criticism into England seemed for a long time impossible. Every association, prejudice, and interest was against the innovation. There was current an aphorism that "he may hold anything who will hold his tongue," referring to preferment in the church. The center of uncompromising orthodoxy was Oxford University. "The mob at the circus of Constantinople in the days of the Byzantine emperors was hardly more wildly orthodox than the mob of students at this orthodox seat of learning of the Anglo-Saxon

race during the middle decades of the nineteenth century. The Moslem students of El Azhar are hardly more intolerant now than these English students were then" (ibid., ii., 335). Pusey feebly tried to rationalize the Bible miracle of Jonah by arguing that there were fishes which could have swallowed the prophet. He was very quickly and sharply told that the fish, "which swallowed Jonah was created for that express purpose." Pusey surrendered and thenceforth was a blind champion of the old myths. But Oxford was taken, impossible as such a victory appeared, but a few years before the forlorn hope of Rationalism made a breach in its defenses. Although Bentley, as Master of Trinity, went to extremes in his defense of the old interpretation, he was overthrown by the system of criticism of classical literature which he had himself introduced into British studies. When that system was applied to all literature, so-called profane or so-called sacred, he and his reactionary confreres were undone. Milman had already made such an application of the system in his "History of the Jews," published in 1829. Rev. Mr. Milman received the reward for his honesty in the hatred and antagonism of his ecclesiastical superiors and associates; "for years he was passed in the race for honors by divines who were content either to hold briefs for all the contemporary unreason which happened to be popular, or to keep their mouths shut altogether" (ibid., ii., 340). "Essays and Reviews" appeared in 1860; it was composed of papers by prominent churchmen and educators. They were mild in tone but combined much of German higher criticism with English common

sense, which had for so long been suppressed in the interest of religion. It was not long before Bishop Wilberforce, of Oxford, attacked the authors with asserted argument and actual invective. Professor Jowett, who had written one of the essays, in which he said, "Interpret the scripture like any other book," came in for the most bitter of Bishop Wilberforce's criticisms. To his mind, such a sentiment was unpardonable. The first effect of the onslaught of Wilberforce and his party was to push "Essays and Reviews" into immediate and wide circulation. A panic seized the conservatives. The clergy and laity frantically appealed to the prelates to save Christianity and the church. A storm of abuse beat upon the seven essayists. A determined effort was vainly made to defeat Max Muller, nominated for the professorship of Sanscrit at Oxford. Writing to the Bishop of London, who was trying to detach him from the other authors of "Essays and Reviews," Dr. Temple, Master of Rugby, said, referring to the critical study of the Bible: "Such a study, so full of difficulties, imperatively demands freedom for its condition. To tell a man to study, and yet bid him, under heavy penalties, come to the same conclusions with those who have not studied, is to mock him. If the conclusions are proscribed, the study is precluded" (*ibid.*, ii., 344). In the Lower House of the Convocation of Canterbury, Archdeacon Denison said, speaking of "Essays and Reviews," "Of all books in any language which I ever laid my hands on, this is incomparably the worst; it contains all the poison which is contained in Tom Paine's 'Age of Reason,' while it



has the additional disadvantage of having been written by clergymen" (ibid., ii., 345). It is much to the credit of Paine's scholarship and common sense that he anticipated by so many years the general results of the critical investigations of the Higher Critics.

Prosecutions were begun against two of the writers of "Essays and Reviews," Rev. Dr. Williams and Rev. Mr. Wilson. They were suspended from their offices for a year. They appealed to the Queen in Council. How religion shuts the mind against the influx of the light of common justice and fair play was shown when Dr. Pusey wrote a series of letters to the Bishop of London, who was trying the case, earnestly beseeching the judges to save religion, which meant, of course, "convict the accused men," whose offense was that they had given to the world the results of their careful researches. That time-honored lies might not be disturbed honest men must be starved and their good names attainted. The decision of the court, in which the lord chancellor, Bishop Tait, and the lay judges concurred, as against the archbishops, was unfavorable to the prosecution. It was considered a virtual indorsement of the heretical book. The storm and panic broke out afresh. The Low and High churchmen united against the common enemy, with Dr. Pusey and Archdeacon Denison in the front, "and an impassioned declaration was posted to every clergyman in England and Ireland, with a letter begging him, 'for the love of God,' to sign it." Eleven thousand signatures were obtained. The laity sent a deputation. The Convocation of Canterbury took up the fight. Bishop Wilberforce

led the old orthodoxy. Bishops Tait and Thirlwall championed the progressive view. Of the eleven thousand names, with that of Pusey at the head, Thirlwall said that he looked upon it "in the light of a row of figures preceded by a decimal point, so that, however far the series may be advanced, it can never rise to the value of a single unit." But the Convocation condemned the book, and it seemed for a time that the seven essayists would be carried out of the church—where they should have gone in the first place. "During the whole controversy, and for some time afterward, the press was burdened with replies, ponderous and pithy, lurid and vapid, vitriolic and unctuous, but in the main bearing the inevitable characteristics of pleas for inherited opinions stimulated by ample endowments" (*ibid.*, ii., 346-47).

In 1862 there came out in England a work on the Pentateuch. Its author was Colenso, Bishop of Natal, in South Africa. His statements were very moderate, but they started another panic. The orthodox were filled with horror when they read that "an army of six hundred thousand men could not have been mobilized in a single night; that three millions of people, with their flocks and herds, could neither have obtained food on so small and arid a desert as that over which they were said to have wandered during forty years, nor water from a single well; and that the butchery of two hundred thousand Midianites by twelve thousand Israelites, 'exceeding infinitely in atrocity the tragedy at Cawnpore, had happily been carried out only on paper'" (*ibid.*, ii., 349-50). Colenso's work was condemned by the Convocation; a colonial bishop

“deposed and excommunicated its author, declaring him ‘given over to Satan,’” and he was savagely assailed in England and America. Dissenters from the English church joined in the outcry. When Colenso returned to Natal and was warmly welcomed by many of his clergy and their people, the clergymen were put in danger of starvation through an attempt to deprive them of their salaries, while the people were threatened with the “greater excommunication.” “The Bishop of Cape Town met Colenso at the door of his own cathedral, and solemnly bade him ‘depart from the house of God as one who has been handed over to the Evil One.’ The sentence of excommunication was read before the assembled faithful, and they were enjoined to treat their bishop as a heathen man and a publican’” (ibid., ii., 351). So religion inspires men to promote the search for the truth. Now his enemies struck at Colenso through the civil courts of England. The intention was to humiliate him and “to reduce to beggary the clergy who remained faithful to him; and it was worthy of note that one of the leaders in preparing the legal plea of the committee against him was Mr. Gladstone.” Total defeat met the zealots. “Not only were his enemies thus forbidden to deprive him of his salary, but their excommunication of him was made null and void.” The temper of the orthodox was shown by the confession and lamentation of John Keble “that the English people no longer believed in excommunication”; by the raging of Bishop Gray, of Cape Town, who characterized the decision of the Privy Council as “awful and profane,” and the Council itself as “a masterpiece of Satan” and “the

great dragon of the English church," and by the deep regret of Bishop Wilberforce over "the devotion of the English people to the law in matters of this sort." It was sought to belittle Colenso's attainments; he was socially ostracized; old heretical friends like F. D. Maurice and Matthew Arnold turned against him; "servants left his house in horror," and he was made the butt of the ribald wits of his time.

Pusey had claimed that the existence of Christianity depended upon the continued acceptance of the traditional view of the book of Daniel, but in 1893, only a few years after the death of the noted reactionist, Dr. Sanday, Ireland Professor of Exegesis in the University of Oxford, preaching from Pusey's old pulpit of St. Mary's in that institution, showed "that the name of Daniel is only assumed; that the book is in no sense predictive, but was written, mainly at least, after the events it describes, that 'its author lived at the time of the Maccabean struggle'; that it is very inaccurate even in the simple facts which it cites; and hence that all the vast fabric erected upon its predictive character is baseless" (*ibid.*, ii., 358). Dr. Sanday likewise accepted the essential part of the conclusions of Kuenen and Wellhausen, as well as those of the others of the higher critics. There had been established at Oxford a college intended to crush out the last vestige of the new doctrines; there young men were to be fed upon the husks of the medieval doctors, of the apologists of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries; they were to be kept in ignorance "of the reforming spirit of the sixteenth and the scientific spirit of the nine-

teenth century." Whatever heresy might flaunt itself elsewhere, even at Oxford, "Keble College, rejoicing in the favor of a multitude of leaders in the church, including Mr. Gladstone, seemed an inexpugnable fortress of the older thought" (ibid., ii., 359). But it was not; the new criticism crept in, and in 1889 appeared the volume of essays, "Lux Mundi," "among whose authors were men closely connected with Keble College and with the movement which had created it." The book was full of arguments that would have been in place in the "Age of Reason." At Cambridge Robertson Smith, driven from his work by the Free Church of Scotland, was given a professorship. Orthodox lines were breaking everywhere. Samuel Davidson was driven from his chair in the Congregational College at Manchester because of the heresy in his "Introduction of the Old Testament," but he did not surrender, and he did not starve. As either writer or editor of the articles upon scriptural subjects in the ninth edition of the Encyclopedia Britannica, that great publication at last gave a fair presentation of the new view of the sacred books.

In France Renan felt the heavy hand of the church, but the work in which he helped goes steadily on and more and more reading and thinking men and women are getting a truer view of the Bible and of ecclesiastical history as well. In Germany, near the close of the eighteenth and in the beginning of the nineteenth century, Jahn, of Vienna, and Herbst, of Tübingen, tried to introduce modern criticism into works designed for Catholic constituencies, but it did not take long for the church authorities to have all passages that gave

any accurate information "speedily edited out of the book" of the latter, while the former made "ample amends in a second edition." At a later date, Movers, of Breslau, was prevented by his superiors in the church from using his decided "gifts for Old Testament research." "During the latter half of the nineteenth century much the same pressure has continued in Catholic Germany. Strong scholars have very generally been drawn into the position of 'apologists' or 'reconcilers,' and, when found intractable, they have been driven out of the church" (Bleek, "Old Testament," London, 1882, i., 19, 20). In France and Italy "about 1890, a body of earnest Roman Catholic scholars began very cautiously to examine and explain the biblical text in the light of those results of the newer research which could no longer be gainsaid. . . . These men, while standing up manfully for the church, were obliged to allow that some of the conclusions of modern biblical criticism were well founded. The result came rapidly. The treatise of Bartolo and the great work of Lenormant were placed in the Index; Canon Berta was overwhelmed with reproaches and virtually silenced; the Abbe Loisy was first deprived of his professorship, and then ignominiously expelled from the university; Monseigneur d'Hulst was summoned to Rome, and has since kept silence" (White, ii., 363-64).

In the United States Theodore Parker tried to reform the church from within, but the times were not ripe for the introduction of the higher criticism. So bitter was the Christian feeling against him that once, when news came to an orthodox

prayer-meeting that he was dangerously ill, "a prayer was openly made by one of the zealous brethren that this arch-enemy might be removed from earth." In other words, God was asked to commit the murder that the pious suppliant had not the courage to commit himself. Not only were the orthodox implacable in their opposition to the new thought he presented, but he was even driven out of the Unitarian organization. But his labors were aided by the demonstration by many of his foremost opponents that the Bible sanctioned slavery. "So much the worse for the Bible," retorted the champions of human liberty. The old interpretation died hard both in Europe and America. The "Syllabus of Errors" issued by Pius IX. in 1864 helped to hold many thinkers in chains, as did other deliverances from the Vatican. The Protestants furnished their full quota of the army of fossils. Dr. Baylee, of the Church of England, "Principal of St. Aidan's College, declared that in scripture 'every scientific statement is infallibly accurate; all its histories and narrations of every kind are without any inaccuracy. Its words and phrases have a grammatical philological accuracy, such as is possessed by no human composition.' In 1861 Dean Burgon preached in Christ Church Cathedral, Oxford, as follows: 'No, sirs, the Bible is the very utterance of the eternal; as much God's own word as if high heaven were open and we heard God speaking to us with a human voice. Every book is inspired alike, and is inspired entirely. Inspiration is not a difference of degree, but of kind. The Bible is filled to overflowing with the Holy Spirit of God; the books of it and

the words of it and the very letters of it' " (ibid., ii., 368-69). Against stupidity such as that reasoning men contend in vain. In spite of the flood of light let in upon the intellectual world by the men of science and the higher critics the Dean Burgons of the religious world are wedded to their idols. In 1889 Canon Liddon in England echoed Burgon; similar deliverances were heard in France and Germany; in the United States Dr. Hodge, of Princeton, declared that the books of the Bible "are, one and all, in thought and verbal expression, in substance and in form, wholly the work of God, conveying with absolute accuracy and divine authority all that God meant to convey without human additions and admixtures." The educated man who is capable of making such assertions in the light of what is now known concerning the evolution of the Bible cannot command the respect of any honest man or woman. There was ample excuse for the Middle Age priest who made such claims, as there is for the cross-roads itinerant of the present day, but no excuse will avail in the case of a doctor of divinity, a president of Princeton College.

In recent years the higher critics have been supplied with new weapons by the discoveries of archaeologists. They have shown that a great civilization was flourishing in Mesopotamia "probably two thousand years before the scriptural date assigned to the migration of Abraham from Ur of the Chaldees," and that the Hebrew sacred myths and legends existed in earlier form "long antedating those given in the Hebrew scriptures." "So perfect was the proof of this that the most eminent



scholars in the foremost seats of Christian learning were obliged to acknowledge it" (*ibid.*, ii., 370-71). For the concessions of Rev. Professor Sayce see his "The Higher Criticism and the Monuments," third ed., London, and for a summary of some of them see Mr. White's second volume (pp. 372-73). Researches in Egypt also yielded results greatly helpful to the higher critics of the Bible, all tending strongly to substantiate their conclusions regarding the purely natural origin and development of the Hebrew sacred scriptures. (See for summary, White, ii., 374-76, and authorities there cited.)

While this very useful work was progressing Oriental scholars in England, Germany, and America were translating the sacred books of the East, thus making accessible another great mass of evidence proving that religious ideas and institutions, like all other ideas and institutions, are the products of the slow processes of evolution, and that Hebraism, Christianity, and Mohammedanism owe very much to the older Eastern cults, as they, in turn, of course, owe to the more primary forms of religion. It was seen that Persian thought had greatly influenced Israel. Catholic missionaries like Huc and Gabet had much earlier been astounded and alarmed by the close resemblances between Buddhism and other Oriental religions and Catholicism. Huc piously suggested that the explanation of the amazing similarity was to be found in the fact "that Satan, in anticipation of Christianity, had revealed to Buddhism this divinely constituted order of things." But the Roman authorities dared not let Huc's book go out, even with such an antidote,

and so they put it under the ban. (Ibid., 377-84, and Huc and other authors cited.)

In spite of the most bitter resistance of orthodox scholars the conviction has been steadily growing for sixty years that the first three gospels developed out of earlier sources, receiving accretions from older religions, sometimes even to the extent of whole narratives, and that the fourth gospel "has no right to the name and does not really give the ideas of St. John, but that it represents a mixture of Greek philosophy with Jewish theology, and that its final form, which one of the most eminent among recent Christian scholars has characterized as 'an unhistorical product of abstract reflection,' is mainly due to some gifted representative or representatives of the Alexandrian school" (ibid., ii., 385-86). "An unhistorical product of abstract reflection" comes perilously near being "lie" in political English. A significant change made by the scholars who gave us the revised edition of the New Testament issued in 1881 was the substitution, in Luke ii., 33, of the correct rendering, "His father and his mother marveled at those things which were spoken of him," for the old "piously fraudulent" "Joseph and his mother," etc.

We have seen that religion has antagonized science in every field of investigation; that its devotees have clung to the outworn conceptions of more primitive times, under the influence of the progress-hindering delusion that a god has revealed to the world a perfect code of morals and an inerrant history of creation and prophecy of human destiny, and that this revelation is the sacred book of their own particular church.

# The Attitude of the Church Toward Slavery.

It is probable that the younger generation of Christians in America are guiltless of intent to deceive when they make the preposterous claim that the Christian church abolished chattel slavery in the United States. They have been told that it did, and have not had the time, opportunity, or inclination to make the very slight investigation that would be necessary to convince them that slavery received the almost unanimous support of the denominations at the very time that the anti-slavery agitators were trying to educate the consciences of our people into a recognition of the horrors of the institution and to inspire them with a determination to uproot it. But the plea of ignorance of the facts will not avail to clear the skirts of the older Christians; they were in a position to know that, with rare exceptions, the Christian minister or layman who advocated abolition was compelled to place himself outside the pale of his church if he would work effectively against the great wrong. Only a very few of the smaller denominations placed themselves on record in favor of human liberty regardless of color. In neither North nor South did the church lead in the reform.

Southern Christians held slaves and defended slavery; they appealed to the Bible to justify their action, and they had abundant reason so to do. The attitude of the church toward slavery before and after its extinction, was analogous to its attitude toward science and toward reform generally—bitter opposition, while the institution was dominant; vociferous proclamation of enmity accompanied by unfounded claims for the credit of its overthrow after it had been destroyed by war.

After filling hundreds of pages with narratives of the struggles of the early friends of the slave, struggles in which the opposition of the churches was constantly encountered, Parker Pillsbury says in his "Acts of the Anti-Slavery Apostles": "And now, wondrous to tell, with such records, the church and clergy claim and boast that they abolished slavery! The real, everlasting truth is, we had almost to abolish the church before we could reach the dreadful institution at all. We divided, if we did not destroy" (361). Stephen S. Foster, a co-worker with Garrison, Pillsbury, and Rogers, writes under date of Jan. 15, 1842, to the latter, who was editor of the "Herald of Freedom": "When I dare look on my shattered form, I sometimes think prisons will be needed for me but little longer. . . . Within the last fifteen months four times they have opened their dismal cells for my reception. Twenty-four times have my countrymen dragged me from their temples of worship, and twice they have thrown me with great violence from the second story of their buildings, careless of consequences. Once in a Baptist meeting-house they gave me an evangelical kick in the

side, which left me for weeks an invalid. Times out of memory have they broken up my meetings with violence, and hunted me with brick-bats and bad eggs. . . . Once in the name of outraged law and justice have they attempted to put me in irons. Twice have they punished me with fine for preaching the gospel; and once in a mob of two thousand people have they deliberately attempted to murder me, and were foiled in their designs only after inflicting some twenty blows on my head, face, and neck, by the heroism of a brave and noble woman" (ibid., 281, 282). And this was in New England, principally in New Hampshire, whose people were then, as they are now, more nearly unanimously religious than those of any other Northern state.

It was repeatedly declared by prominent churchmen that the anti-slavery crusade was in direct antagonism to the Golden Rule, Bishop Hedding, of Lynn, Mass., putting the proposition in this way: "The right to hold slaves is founded on this rule—'all things whatsoever ye would that men should do unto you, do ye even so unto them.'" That is, treat the slaveholder as you would wish to be treated yourself were you a slaveholder. That they should treat slaves as they would wish to be treated themselves were they slaves does not seem to have occurred to these good ante-bellum Christians. As they employed the Golden Rule, it would have been the sure defense of the burglar.

As a rule, those Christians who wished to abolish slavery unconditionally had to get out of their church organizations to work freely. No doubt many who remained in the organizations were op-

posed to slavery and would have been glad to assist in its overthrow could they have seen their way clear so to do without disrupting their ecclesiastical bodies. But with them the church was of first importance; the claims of the slave were secondary. As in political parties, so in the church—Keep the society alive, no matter how much vital principles of truth, liberty, and justice are neglected or denied. Every organization of men runs the risk of committing this fatal blunder. At the time of which this record treats there was far less skepticism than there is now, and the demonstration that the Bible sanctioned slavery was conclusive with many otherwise good men; they hated the institution but they believed the Bible to be the inerrant word of their god, and as the Bible justified slavery, they were forced by their religious convictions to remain passive spectators of the great humanitarian struggle, or take active part against the Abolitionists. Then, again, the Bible told them to be obedient to the powers that were, for the powers were from God, and as the national and state governments protected slavery they felt in duty bound to obey whatever statutes were enacted in the interest of the institution, even the Fugitive Slave Law. Thus it is clear that the pro-slavery attitude of the majority of the antebellum churches and individual Christians was chiefly due to blind faith in the Bible of barbarism, and to the desire to preserve the church at all hazards, regardless of the sufferings of the slaves in the South, even though hundreds of thousands of them were members of Christian churches, and therefore one with the white Christians “in the

body of Christ." Of course self-interest and political considerations had much to do with the position taken by Christians at that time, especially in the South, but whatever the cause, it remains true that Christian belief was not more effective as an emancipating force than was Infidelity or indifferentism—on the contrary it was much less effective, as the history of that eventful period shows. Instead of leading the liberating movement in the North the churches very materially retarded it, upon the whole, while in the South they were not one step in advance of the average popular sentiment of the community. Again the church of Christ and Paul had failed in "light and leading," as she had so often done before. Let the New York "Evangelist" bear witness. In the spring of 1847 it said:

"To the shame of the church it must be spoken, the foremost men of some of our philanthropic movements, in the interpretation of the spirit of the age, in the practical applications of Christianity, in the reformation of abuses, in the vindication of the rights of man, are men who make no profession, and whom we have no reason to believe to be experimentally acquainted with Christianity. The church has pusillanimously left not only the working oar, but the very reins of certain necessary reforms of the day, in the hands of men, who, if not before inimical to Christianity, will be made so by Christianity's neglect of what it is its proper mission to look after. They are doing practically with all their might, for humanity's sake, what the church ought to be doing as heartily through its ministry and representative men for Christ's sake.



**Branding a Negress.**



And if they succeed, as succeed they will, in abolishing slavery, in banishing intemperance, in killing war, in restraining intemperance, in reforming social abuses, then the recoil upon Christianity, the antagonistic reaction from these Christianized sensibilities upon the cause of religion itself, will be disastrous in the extreme. Woe be to religion when irreligious men, by force of nature, or the tendency of the age, get ahead of the church in morals and in the practical work of Christianity. In some instances they are already a long ways ahead. And we might specify individuals and journals in this country that are far before the recognized organs of the church in the advocacy of truth, and righteousness, and liberty."

The legislatures of the slave states made it penal to teach slaves to read. Some also prohibited the teaching of free persons of color. It was felt to be necessary to forbid the taking of the testimony of a negro against a white person. The churches did not protest against the laws interdicting the instruction of people of color, and several large religious bodies refused in church difficulties to receive the evidence of negro Christians against white Christians. Thus it is seen that the slaveholding churches were not in the least in advance of the times, although they of course claimed to represent the kingdom of heaven as against "the world, the flesh, and the devil." Sometimes, too, in the older slave states, churches in their corporate character held slaves who were generally hired out for the support of the preacher. Church-members who were slave auctioneers were far from being unknown. For several decades the dominat-

ing feeling in most of the Christian churches of the country seemed to be that expressed by the editor of the Washington "Telegraph," in these words: "As a man, a Christian, and a citizen, we believe that slavery is right; that the condition of the slaveholding states is the best existing organization of civil society." Chancellor Harper, of South Carolina, voiced the same sentiment when he said: "It is the order of nature, and of God, that the being of superior faculties and knowledge, and therefore of superior power, should control and dispose of those who are inferior" (Birney, "American Churches," third ed., 11, 12).

Christian church members were very prominent in the mobs that, North and South, administered instruction and correction to the advocates of emancipation, or those who were suspected of being lukewarm in the cause of slavery. Amos Dresser was a student in Lane Seminary, near Cincinnati. To raise money to continue his studies he sold Bibles in Tennessee during his vacation in August, 1835. He was suspected of being an Abolitionist, and was arrested by the vigilance committee while attending a religious meeting near Nashville. After an inquisition lasting many hours he was sentenced to receive twenty lashes on his naked body, and the sentence was executed in the presence of most of the committee and of an infuriated mob at midnight. The committee consisted of sixty persons, of whom twenty-seven were church members: "one, a religious teacher; another, the elder, who but a few days before in the Presbyterian church, handed Mr. Dresser the bread and wine at the communion of the Lord's Supper" (ibid., 12). Said

Rev. W. S. Plummer, D. D., of Richmond: "Let them [Abolitionists] understand that they will be caught [lynched] if they come among us, and they will take good heed to keep out of our way."

Rev. T. S. Witherspoon, of Alabama, wrote to the "Emancipator": "When the tardy process of the law is too long in redressing our grievances, we of the South have adopted the summary remedy of Judge Lynch; and really, I think it one of the most wholesome and salutary remedies for the malady of Northern fanaticism that can be applied. . . . I go to the Bible for my warrant in all moral matters. . . . Let your emissaries dare to venture to cross the Potomac, and I cannot promise you that their fate will be less than Haman's." Rev. R. N. Anderson, of Virginia, wrote to the "Sessions of the Presbyterian Congregations within the bounds of the West Hanover Presbytery": "If there be any stray goat of a minister among you, tainted with the blood-hound principles of Abolitionism, let him be ferreted out, silenced, excommunicated and left to the public to dispose of him in other respects." These were all Presbyterian ministers (see Birney's pamphlet, 42-43). The mob spirit manifested itself in religious meetings in all parts of the country where the anti-slavery agitators carried their propaganda, even the Quakers throwing out of their meeting places speakers who tried to present the claims of the slave, and appealing to the sword of the law to punish the missionaries of liberty, although themselves refusing to recognize the right of the state to use force. Along in the forties the imprisonment of Abolitionists was a very common occur-

rence in Christian New England, and there is nowhere on record a protest by any influential church against this denial of free speech and right of peaceable assembly, and this indirect but powerful encouragement of slavery. Often Christian mobs broke up the seats and other furniture in halls where the anti-slavery men held their meetings, threw decayed eggs and harder missiles at the speakers and their friends, tore their clothes, wounded them, and drove them out of the building or from the camp-ground, and sometimes even from the town. And these outrages were committed with the inferred if not with the expressed sanction of the leading clergymen, who had made very plain their disapprobation of the work of the Garisons, Grimkes, Pillsburys, and their confreres.

At Charleston, S. C., the postoffice was forcibly entered, and the anti-slavery publications there awaiting distribution to white men and women were taken out and burned in the street by a mob of several thousand persons. A few days subsequently a meeting was called to devise measures for completing the work thus begun, the special ends sought being the exclusion of anti-slavery publications from the mails, and the ferreting out of persons holding views inimical to the "peculiar institution," that they might be brought within the purview of lynch law. Of this meeting the Charleston "Courier" said: "The clergy of all denominations attended in a body, lending their sanction to the proceedings, and adding by their presence to the impressive character of the scene." This resolution was adopted: "That the thanks of this meeting are due to the reverend gentlemen of the

clergy of this city, who have so promptly and effectually responded to public sentiment, by suspending their schools in which the free colored population were taught; and that this meeting deem it a patriotic action, worthy of all praise, and proper to be imitated by other teachers of similar schools throughout the state." On the 29th of the following July the ministers of Richmond Va., unanimously adopted 'these, among other resolutions: "That the example of our Lord Jesus Christ and his apostles, in not interfering with the question of slavery, but uniformly recognizing the relation of master and servant, and giving full and affectionate instructions to both, is worthy of the imitation of all ministers of the gospel. That the suspicions which have prevailed to a considerable extent against ministers of the gospel and professors of religion in the state of Virginia, as identified with abolitionists, are wholly unmerited—believing as we do, from extensive acquaintance with our churches and brethren, that they are unanimous in opposing the pernicious schemes of abolitionists" (Birney, "American Churches," 13, 14).

The General Conference of the Methodist Episcopal church met in Cincinnati in May, 1836. These resolutions were adopted—the first by the vote of 122 to 11, and the second by 120 to 14: "By the delegates of the Annual Conference in General Conference assembled, That they disapprove in the most unqualified sense, the conduct of the two members of the General Conference who are reported to have lectured in this city recently, upon, and in favor of, modern abolitionism. That they are decidedly opposed to modern abolitionism, and

wholly disclaim any right, wish or intention to interfere in the civil and political relation between master and slave as it exists in the slave-holding states of this Union" (ibid., 16). In the Pastoral Address sent to the churches the members are exhorted to abstain from all abolition movements and associations, and to refrain from patronizing any of their publications. A short time previously, the Ohio Annual Conference had disclaimed "all connection or co-operation with or belief in" the proceedings of the abolitionists and anti-slavery societies. The New York Annual Conference in June, 1836, resolved, "That this Conference fully concur in the advice of the late General Conference, as expressed in their Pastoral Address. That we disapprove of the members of this conference patronizing or in any way giving countenance to a paper called 'Zion's Watchman,' because in our opinion it tends to disturb the peace and harmony of the body by sowing dissensions in the church." "Zion's Watchman" was a Methodist paper devoted to the anti-slavery cause and was edited by Rev. La Roy Sunderland, who afterwards became a Freethinker. It was an independent paper, while the pro-slavery or non-committal Methodist journals were official organs of the church. The New York Conference at the same time voted its opinion that no man should be elected to the office of deacon or elder unless he first gave a pledge that he would not disturb the serenity of the church by discussing the question of slavery. Two years later the same Conference resolved, "that any of its members or probationers, who shall patronize 'Zion's Watchman,' either by writing in commen-

dation of its character, by circulating it, recommending it to our people or procuring subscribers, or by collecting or remitting moneys, shall be deemed guilty of indiscretion, and dealt with accordingly" (ibid., 16, 17). All of which is respectfully submitted for the consideration of the Methodists of this day. It was the purpose of the Methodist leaders of that time to shut out all debate on the vital issue of slavery; the Pastoral Letter was supposed to close the mouths and stop the pens of the ministers; the official papers would remain dumb so that if "Zion's Watchman" could be kept away from Methodists no "seditious" utterances or literature would reach the flocks through Methodist lips or hands.

The Georgia Annual Conference resolved that slavery was "not a moral evil," that "as ministers of Christ" they had "nothing to do" with the institution further than to ameliorate the condition of the slave by endeavoring to impart to him and his master the benign influences of the religion of Christ, and aiding both on their way to heaven," and the ministers concluded by thanking their bishops for their successful exertions to suppress all agitation of the question of slavery. How these and other ministers ameliorated the condition of the slave by pointing him and his master to "Christ," is told by Dr. Nelson, formerly a slaveholder: "I have been intimately acquainted with the religious opportunities of slaves—in the constant habit of hearing the sermons which are preached to them. And I solemnly affirm, that during the forty years of my residence and observation in this line, I never heard a single one of

these sermons that was not taken up with the obligations and duties of slaves to their masters. Indeed, I never heard a sermon to slaves but what made obedience to masters by the slaves, the fundamental and supreme law of religion" (Pillsbury, "The Church as It Is," 81). In the South Carolina Conference it was the unanimous opinion of the ministers that slavery was not a moral evil, and that therefore it was not within the jurisdiction of the church. The reader is referred to the pamphlets already laid under tribute—Parker Pillsbury's "The Church as It Is; or, The Forlorn Hope of Slavery," and James G. Birney's "The American Churches the Bulwarks of American Slavery," and likewise Mr. Pillsbury's "Acts of the Anti-Slavery Apostles"—if he is not convinced by what we have put before him in the preceding pages and shall add in the few pages that follow that the American churches during the years of the anti-slavery struggle were the greatest obstacles in the way of the reformers who sought to make this in deed no less than in name the "land of the free."

The record of the Baptist church is no better than that of the Methodist. In 1835 the Charleston Baptist Association sent a memorial to the legislature, and here follow some parts of it: "The undersigned would further represent, that the said Association does not consider that the Holy Scriptures have made the fact of slavery a question of morals at all. The Divine Author of our holy religion in particular, found slavery a part of the existing institutions of society; with which, if not sinful, it was not his design to intermeddle, but to leave them entirely to the control of men. Adopt-



ing this, therefore, as one of the allowed arrangements of society, he made it the province of his religion only to prescribe the reciprocal duties of the relation. . . . The right of masters to dispose of the time of their slaves has been distinctly recognized by the Creator of all things, who is surely at liberty to vest the right of property over any object in whomsoever he pleases." In the same year, the Savannah River Baptist Association of Ministers, answering the question whether the separation by sale or otherwise (except by death) of married slaves should preclude the subsequent marriage of the persons so separated, answered, in part: "That such separation among persons situated as our slaves are, is civilly a separation by death, and they believed that, in the sight of God, it should be so viewed." In that year also the Goslien Association of Ministers and Messengers, assembled at Free Union, Va., resolved: "That we consider our right and title to this property [slaves] altogether legal and bona fide, and that it is a breach of the faith, pledged in the Federal Constitution, for our Northern brethren to try, either directly or indirectly, to lessen the value of this property or impair our title thereto. That we view the torch of the incendiary and the dagger of the midnight assassin loosely concealed under the specious garb of humanity and religion falsely so-called." In a third resolution the meek ministers taunt the anti-slavery lecturers with their alleged cowardice in failing to go into the South to preach their doctrine. Rev. Lucius Bolles, D. D., of Massachusetts, Cor. Sec. Am. Board of Foreign Missions, said in 1834: "There is a pleasing degree

of union among the multiplying thousands of Baptists throughout the land. . . . Our Southern brethren are generally, both ministers and people, slaveholders" (Birney, "American Churches," 30-32). At the meeting of the National Foreign Missionary Organization of the Baptist church in 1841, a slaveholder presided, another led in the devotions, and a third preached the sermon. A member of the Board of Managers, Rev. Elon Galusha, of New York, was deposed because of his anti-slavery utterances. A writer in the "Biblical Record and Southern Watchman" said of this convention: "Our meetings were truly delightful. The spirit of the gospel prevailed and gave a tremendous shock to the abolitionists. . . . All of our principal men are sound to the core on this vexed question." In 1841 Rev. Jonathan Davis, a slaveholding Baptist clergyman of Georgia, visited the North. In a letter to his friends, dated at Boston, May 23d, he says: "It is proper for me to state that the mass of our brethren, both in Philadelphia and New York, are opposed to abolition, as now understood by that term, and are for no other measure than colonization. . . . This has been the week of their anniversaries here and I suppose there has not been less than a hundred and fifty Baptist ministers, old and young; and what I rejoiced to find was that the abolitionists among them were a small minority. . . . I was invited on every hand to pulpits, and am even entreated to deliver addresses on this particular subject, in various parts of the country." In other letters he tells of the "kind treatment he received from the Professors of the Baptist Theological College," and of his

triumphs in debate with anti-slavery speakers (Pillsbury, "The Church as It Is," 40-46).

The Presbyterian church had in 1794 adopted a note to the Eighth Commandment declaring slavery to be theft, but it never enforced any rules of discipline in harmony therewith. "The slaveholders remained in the Church, adding slave to slave, unmolested; not only unmolested, but bearing the offices of the Church." In 1816 the General Assembly, while calling slavery a "mournful evil," directed the erasure of the condemnatory note to the Eighth Commandment. The resolutions of 1818 were halting and ineffective. In 1835 there were majority and minority reports on the subject, which led the slaveholding delegates, numbering forty-eight, to meet apart and Resolve "That if the General Assembly shall undertake to exercise authority on the subject of slavery, so as to make it an immorality or shall in any way declare that Christians are criminal in holding slaves, that a declaration shall be presented by the Southern delegation, declining their jurisdiction in the case, and our determination not to submit to such decision." Finally, the General Assembly adopted this preamble and resolution: "Inasmuch as the constitution of the Presbyterian church, in its preliminary and fundamental principles, declares that no church judicatories ought to pretend to make laws to bind the conscience in virtue of their own authority; and as the urgency of the business of the Assembly, and the shortness of the time during which they can continue in session, render it impossible to deliberate and decide judiciously on the subject of slavery in its relation to the

church; therefore, Resolved—That this whole subject be indefinitely postponed.” Then the General Assembly in 1837, in which the Rev. Dr. Wither-  
spoon, a South Carolina slaveholder, was chairman of the committee to which all memorials against slavery were referred, voted (97 to 28) to lay “the whole subject on the table.” In 1838 the Church divided on doctrinal differences. In a convention which was held by the Old School preparatory to separation, this Resolution was adopted: “That in the judgment of this convention, it is of the greatest consequence to the best interests of our Church that the subject of slavery shall not be agitated or discussed in the sessions of the ensuing General Assembly, and if any motion shall be made, or resolution offered touching the same, this Convention is of opinion that the members of Convention in that body ought to unite in disposing of it as far as may be possible, without debate” (Birney, “American Churches,” 32-37). The Old School, since the separation, has been guided by the spirit of this resolution.

In the Assembly of 1838 of the New School, memorials against slavery were referred to a committee, which reported “that the applicants, for reasons satisfactory to themselves, have withdrawn their papers.” In 1839 the whole subject was referred to the presbyteries. In 1840 a large number of petitions and memorials were sent; they were referred to a committee, which presented a resolution mentioning what had been done the year before, and declaring “it inexpedient for the Assembly to do anything on the subject.” The entire matter was “indefinitely postponed.” In the free

states the presbyteries and synods managed to avoid a direct expression of opinion, although doing what they could to check the advance of abolitionism "by resolutions bearing on it indirectly," as Mr. Pillsbury phrases it. Many of their influential ministers did not hesitate to directly aid their slaveholding brethren in the South. Hopewell Presbytery of South Carolina adopted resolutions which were fairly representative of those adopted in Southern presbyteries and in Southern synods. Here they are: "Slavery has existed in the church of God from the time of Abraham to this day. Members of the church of God have held slaves bought with their money, and born in their houses; and this relation is not only recognized, but its duties are defined clearly, in both the Old and New Testaments. Emancipation is not mentioned among the duties of the master to his slaves, while obedience, 'even to the froward' master, is enjoined upon the slave. No instance can be produced of an otherwise orderly Christian being reprov'd, much less excommunicated from the church, for the single act of holding domestic slaves, from the days of Abraham down to the date of the modern abolitionist" (Birney, "American Churches," 37, 38). Can any modern Christian impeach this testimony of the South Carolina Presbyterian Christians of the first half of the nineteenth century? Harmony Presbytery, of the same state, in its resolutions alluded to "those good old slaveholders and patriarchs, Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob (who are now in the kingdom of heaven)," and to Paul's return of a fugitive slave to his master, with a letter of fraternal greeting. Charleston Union

Presbytery declared that it would be "morally wrong" for the church to interfere with slavery, and asserted that its views were held "in common with Christians at the South of every denomination," while it affirmed that slavery was "in accordance with the example, or consistent with the precepts of patriarchs, apostles, and prophets." The Synod of South Carolina and Georgia, and the Synod of Virginia, put themselves similarly on record in defense of the institution, the latter resolving that the doctrine of emancipation was "directly and palpably contrary to the plainest principles of common sense and common humanity, and to the clearest authority of the word of God" (*ibid.*, 38-40). All these were of the Old School. A New School church at Petersburg, Va., resolved in 1838 that God had recognized the relation of master and slave, and that slavery was not a sin against him. The New School General Assembly in 1843 resolved "that the Assembly do not think it for the edification of the church, for this body to take any action on the subject of slavery." In this Assembly Rev. Dr. Hill, of Virginia, declared that some abolitionists had been lynched, "and they were served right." Rev. Mr. Wisner, of Ithaca, N. Y., said: "If brother Beecher had been in the place of good old Abraham, and God had told him to take his only son, Isaac, and put him to death, Mr. Beecher would look up and say, 'Why, Lord, it is contrary to the "great principles" of your government for me to take the life of my son; I can't do it'; and so Mr. Beecher would refuse to obey a positive precept, because it conflicts with what he thinks is a great principle. But if God

tells me to lay my wife on the altar, it shall be done. And I have been shocked when my abolition brethren have told me that if they thought the Bible tolerated slavery, they would reject the Bible. But I dare not take this liberty with the Bible. I will believe it, and obey it, the whole of it, or none. And when we thus yield to its teachings, we are denounced as pro-slavery men" (Pillsbury, "The Church as It Is," 23). The General Assembly of 1864, by a vote of 97 to 27, while deprecating the evils of slavery, refused to entertain any "divisive measures, that would destroy the unity and disturb the peace of the church"; that is, it would not disfellowship slaveholders, or indulge in any active propaganda against slavery.

The Protestant Episcopal church, through its ministers, in so far as they concerned themselves with the subject of slavery, generally favored the colonization scheme. But in the South there was some pronounced pro-slavery work done by this church. In 1836 Rev. Mr. Freeman, of North Carolina, preached two sermons on the rights and duties of slaveholders. They were published as a pamphlet, and prefixed to them was a letter from Mr. Freeman's bishop, Levi S. Ives, in which he said that he had listened to the delivery of the sermons "with most unfeigned pleasure," and advised their publication as being "urgently called for at the present time." "The Protestant Episcopal Society for the Advancement of Christianity in South Carolina," republished the pamphlet as a religious tract. The "Churchman" declared that laws forbidding the teaching of the blacks did "not trench upon the law of God," as the slaves could

receive through oral instruction all that it was fit for them to know (Birney, "American Churches," 43-45).

The Unitarians and the Universalists, while not making any test of fellowship for admission to the communion table, and so not being in a position to shut out slaveholders, had they so wished, were nevertheless blameworthy in the eyes of the anti-slavery workers, one of whom, Parker Pillsbury, says ("The Church as It Is," 54): "The painful truth must be revealed that almost every Universalist and Unitarian meetinghouse in the land is closed against the anti-slavery movement. Almost every newspaper reviles that movement, and almost every member of these societies is a supporter of one of the political parties, whose votes are ever freely given for slave-owners to fill the highest offices in the nation's gift." The General Convention of Universalists, in session at Troy, N. Y., in 1846, indignantly laid this resolution on the table: "That the legitimate sphere of the Christian pulpit includes the advocacy of liberty, peace, temperance, and all the moral and religious interests of man."

A large Yearly Meeting of Quakers, the Indiana, deplored that some of their meeting-places had been opened to anti-slavery lecturers, repudiated anti-slavery papers published by Quakers, and solemnly warned their members against mingling in anti-slavery and other benevolent associations. With honorable exceptions, says Mr. Pillsbury, such were the sentiments of Quakers throughout the United States ("The Church as It Is," 54, 55). In Lynn, Mass., and other places they threw out of their meetings those who were "moved by the



themselves. Rev. Albert Barnes, a very prominent Presbyterian clergyman, said in a sermon at Philadelphia: "Advert for a moment to the efforts made to remove slavery from the world, and to the hindrances which exist to all efforts which can be made to remove it in consequence of the relation of the church to the system. Reflect how many members of the Christian church, and how many ministers of the gospel, are owners of slaves; how little effort is made by the great mass to dissociate themselves from the system; how many there are even in the pulpit, who openly advocate it; how much identified the system is with all the plans of gain, and all the views of the comforts and ease of domestic life among many members of the church; and how faint and feeble is the voice of condemnation of the system uttered by the great mass, even of those who have no connection with it; and how often the language of apology is heard, even then, and it is easy to see how ineffectual must be all efforts to remove this great evil from the world. The language of the ministry and the practice of church members give such a sanction to this enormous evil as could be derived from no other source and such as it is useless to attempt to convince the world of the evil. Against all this influence in the church in favor of the system how hopeless are all attempts against it; while yet no one can doubt that the church of Christ, in this land, has power to revolutionize the whole public sentiment on the subject, and to hasten the hour when, in the United States and their territories, the last shackle of the slave shall fall." In another part of the same discourse Mr. Barnes said

that "the most efficient of all supports" of slavery was the fact that "bishops, and priests and deacons, that ministers and elders, that Sunday-school teachers and exhorters, that pious matrons and heiresses, are the holders of slaves, and that the ecclesiastical bodies of the land address no language of rebuke or entreaty to their consciences" (ibid., 78). Rev. Robert C. Breckenridge, of Baltimore, a leading man in the Presbyterian church, and a strong friend of colonization, said: "Its [slavery's] political aspect, we grant, is bad enough, and fairly belies our high-sounding professions of republicanism, but its evils, in a moral point of view, may truly be termed legion. The church has cherished it in her bosom, and sustained it by her example, until it has reared its head so high in the sanctuary as almost to bid defiance to her authority. This is evidently one of the worst signs of the times. But if we must wait for the civil authorities to take the lead in opposing this sin, what is it but an acknowledgment that politics are purer than religion? We are truly in a woful plight, if the church must abandon her contest with sin, and lean for support upon the arm of the world. Perhaps nothing tends so much to perpetuate this monstrous system, as the acknowledged fact that men truly pious support it by their example. This hallows it in the eyes of the world. Would the church only see to the removing of such props the unsightly fabric must soon totter and fall" ("The Church as It Is," 79).

Said Dr. Nelson, for many years a slaveholder: "But if it were not for the support of the North, the fabric of blood would fall at once. And of

all the efforts of public bodies at the North to sustain slavery, the Connecticut General Association has made the best one. I have never seen anything so well constructed in that line as their resolutions of June, 1836. The South certainly could not have asked anything more effectual. But of all Northern periodicals, the New York Observer [Presbyterian] must have the preference as an efficient support of slavery. I am not sure but it does more than all [other] things combined to keep the dreadful system alive. It is just the succor demanded by the South. Its abuse of the Abolitionists is music in Southern ears, which operates as a charm. But nothing is equal to its harping upon its 'religious privileges and instruction' of the slaves of the South" (ibid., 80).

Again, as showing what the church might then have done for extirpation of slavery, take this declaration concerning her potential power, given out by the Vermont Domestic Missionary Society, in 1841: "The ministers are the heads of the churches, the leaders in the sacramental host of God's elect. No measure can be carried without them, much less in opposition to them. And scarcely any proper measure can fail to succeed when the ministry put forth their power. . . . The churches can be reached in no other way. No man can approach a church when the pastor interposes. He cannot, and he may not if he can" (Ibid., 83). With an army under such discipline, what might not have been done against slavery had there been the wish and the will to do it! How this power of the minister could be exerted against freedom of thought, see, a little farther along, the statement

of Rev. Dr. Beecher. And how it was exerted for slavery, read these declarations: Rev. Dr. Winans, of Mississippi, says: "Christian ministers ought to hold slaves, and to be diffused throughout the South. Presbyterians, Baptists, Methodists, should be slaveholders. There should be members and deacons, elders, and bishops, too, who are slaveholders. The interests of the slaves require it." Dr. Taylor, head of the Theological department of Yale College, told his pupils, candidates for the ministry, that "if Jesus Christ were now on earth, he would, under certain circumstances, become a slaveholder." And who that without prejudice reads the record can doubt it? "Professor Stuart, of Andover Theological Seminary, writes to President Fisk, of Middletown Theological Seminary, that 'slavery may exist without violating the Christian faith or the church.' And President Fisk writes back again, 'this doctrine will stand, because it is Bible doctrine.'" Exhorting the citizens of Orangeburg and vicinity, Rev. J. C. Postell, of South Carolina, said: "Shun abolitionism as you would the devil. Do your duty as citizens and Christians, and in heaven you will be rewarded and delivered from Abolitionism" (*ibid.*, p. 94-5). The Mexican War, inaugurated in the interest of slavery, called forth these pacific lines from the Rev. Mr. Eliphalet Case, of Cincinnati:

"Ho! pioneer, your cabin leave; ho, farmer, leave  
your field;  
Ho! workman with the iron arm, that never yet  
did yield;

Take down the deadly rifle now, and whet the  
bowie knife,  
And like a tropic tempest, come ye, gathering to  
the strife."

At the seventeenth annual meeting of the American Home Missionary Society, Rev. Dr. Beecher offered a resolution in reference to the stated ministry, and in support of that resolution he said, among other things: "I could tell of a minister who, having preached there for fifty years, became the patriarch of the village. And once, when a lecturer came there whom he thought unsafe, he put on his gown and wig and cocked hat and walked up one side of the street, and told his people they had better not go, and then walked home on the other. Every soul stayed at home. All that is healthful in society finds support in the stated ministry" (ibid., 89).

Is it any wonder that the anti-slavery workers learned to distrust the church, and that we repudiate the claims now made for it as the liberator of the negro?

The institution of slavery appears in the colony of Massachusetts at the period of the Pequod War, a few years after the Puritan settlement of the country. "Prior to that time an occasional offender against the laws was punished by being sold into slavery, or adjudged to servitude; but the institution first appears clearly and distinctly in the enslaving of Indians captured in war" (George H. Moore, "Notes on the History of Slavery in Massachusetts," 1). The work was carried on in the spirit of fervent and even aggressive piety. "Hugh

Peter writes to John Winthrop from Salem (in 1637): 'Mr. Endecot and my felfe falute you in the Lord Jefus, etc. Wee haue heard of a diuidence of women and children in the bay and would bee glad of a fhare, viz.: A young woman or girle and a boy if you thinke good. I wrote to you for fome boyes for Bermudas, which I thinke is confiderable' (Mass. H. S. Coll., iv., vi., 95). In this application of Hugh Peter we have a glimpse of the beginning of the Colonial Slave-Trade. He wanted 'fome boyes for the Bermudas,' which he thought was 'considerable.' It would seem to indicate that this disposition of captive Indian boys was in accordance with the custom and previous practice of the authorities" (ibid., 2). Such slaves, when held as the property of citizens of the colony, and escaping, when caught again were "branded on the fhoulder." "In July, 1637, Winthrop says: 'We have now flain and taken, in all, about feven hundred. We fent fifteen of the boys and two women to Bermuda, by Mr. Peirce; but he, miffing it, carried them to Providence Ifle' (Winthrop, i., 234). The learned editor of Winthrop's Journal, referring to the fact that this proceeding in that day was probably justified by reference to the practice or institution of the Jews, very quaintly observes, 'Yet that cruel people never fent prifoners so far' (ibid., note.)." (ibid., 4.) "The male children were fent to the Bermudas, of the females fome were diftributed to the Englifh Towns; fome were difpofed of among the other Indians, to whom they were deadly enemies, as well as to ourfelves" (Hubbard, "Narrative," 1677, p. 130). Hubbard was the contemporary historian of the Indian Wars.

The turning of the female children over to the hereditary enemies of their tribe should have more than passing thought. The first ship to trade in the West Indies for slaves was the "Desire," of Salem, and she sailed in 1637. Winthrop says in his Journal that "Dry fish and strong liquors are the only commodities for those parts." "Long afterwards Dr. Belknap said of the slave-trade, that the rum distilled in Massachusetts was the 'main spring of this traffick'" (Moore, *ibid.*, 6). The "Desire" venture was not a private speculation, "but the enterprise of the authorities of the Colony" (*ibid.*, 9). The deep sense of duty that animated these dealers in human flesh is clearly brought into view in a letter from Emanuel Downing, "a lawyer of the Inner Temple, London," who married a sister of the elder Winthrop. He is writing to his brother-in-law (about 1645):

"A warr with the Narraganfett is verie considerable to this plantation, ffor I doubt whither yt be not fynne in vs, hauing power in our hands, to fuffer them to maynteyne the worfhip of the devill, which their paw wawes often doe; 2lie, if upon a Juft warre the Lord fhould deliver them into our hands, we might eafily haue woemen and children enough to exchange for Moores, which wilbe more gayneful pilladge for vs than wee conceive, for I doe not fee how wee can thrive vntill wee gett into a flock of flaves fufficient to doe all our buifines, for our children's children will hardly fee this great Continent filled with people, foe that our fervants will ftill defire freedom to plant for them felues, and not ftay but for verie great wages. And I fuppofe you know verie well how wee



fhall maynteyne 20 Moores cheaper than one Englifhe fervant" (Quoted by Moore, *ibid.*, 10). "There were few more active or efficient friends of the Massachusetts Colony during its earliest and most critical period," say the editors of the Winthrop papers, referring to Mr. Downing. Whatever else he may have been, there can be no doubt that he was a perfect amalgam of piety and business, but in that respect he was only one of a numerous company in Massachusetts in the dear old Puritan days. How wonderfully the much-vaunted "light and leading" of the Gospel worked for common human justice at that time! In 1641 slavery was made a legal institution in Massachusetts and the children of those born slaves were themselves slaves. For ample proof of both affirmations, see Moore, *ibid.*, pages 10 to 30, inclusive, where the citations from original authorities are many and most definite.

The influence of the Bible, as usual, was on the side of injustice and inhumanity. "The colonists of Massachusetts assumed to themselves 'a right to treat the Indians on the footing of Canaanites or Amalekites,' and practically regarded them from the first as forlorn and wretched heathen, possessing few rights which were entitled to respect" (Moore, *ibid.*, and authorities cited). "We know not when or how these Indians first became Inhabitants of this mighty Continent, yet we may guess that probably the Devil decoy'd these miserable Salvages hither, in hopes that the Gospel of the Lord Jesus Christ would never come here to destroy or disturb his Absolute Empire over them" (Cotton Mather, "Magnalia," Book iii., Part iii.).



Mather and his kind professed to believe that "God hath made of one blood all nations of men for to dwell on the face of the earth," yet the instructions given by the Commissioners of the United Colonies to Major Gibbons when that officer was sent against the Narragansetts in 1645 directed him to have "due regard to the honour of God, who is both our sword and shield, and to the distance which is to be observed betwixt Christians and Barbarians, as well in warres as in other negociations." Hutchinson remarks that the Puritans took care "upon every occasion" "to preserve this distinction" (Moore, *ibid.*, 31).

"To all this [selling Indians into slavery] is to be added the baseness of treachery and falsehood. Many of these prisoners surrendered, and still greater numbers came in voluntarily to submit, upon the promise that they and their wives and children should have their lives spared, and none of them transported out of the country. In one instance, narrated by the famous Captain Church himself, no less than 'eight score persons' were 'without any regard to the promises made to them on their surrendering themselves, carried away to Plymouth, there sold and transported out of the country'" (*ibid.*, 39, and authorities cited). Of the Indians "sent away," some were taken to the Mediterranean coast, but it was difficult to find a market for them. Finally, they were left at Tangier. Upon which Cotton Mather quoted Deut. xxviii., 68: "The Lord shall bring thee into Egypt again with ships, by the way whereof I spake unto thee. Thou shalt see it no more again; and there shall ye be sold unto your Enemies and no Man shall buy

you" ("Magnalia," Book iii., Part iii.). When King Philip was overthrown, his wife and son, the boy "the grandson, his mother, the daughter-in-law of good old Massasoit, the first and best friend the English ever had in New England," were sold into West Indian slavery! A fate, in the words of Edward Everett, "Bitter as death; aye, bitter as hell!" The Indian slaves were exchanged abroad, whenever possible, for negro slaves, the latter being more tractable, and taking to "white ways" more readily.

"It would be to misread history and to forget the change of times, to see in the Fathers of New England mere commonplace slavemongers; to themselves they appeared as the elect to whom God had given the heathen for an inheritance; they were men of stern intellect and fanatical faith, who, believing themselves the favorites of Providence, imitated the example and assumed the privileges of the chosen people, and for their wildest and worst acts they could claim the sanction of religious conviction. In seizing and enslaving Indians, and trading for negroes, they were but entering into possession of the heritage of the saints" (Moore, *ibid.*, 71). Mr. Moore's extenuating plea may be permitted to stand in abatement of judgment of the individual culprits, but it serves to emphasize the condemnation of a religion that intensifies rather than mitigates the natural hardness and cruelty of its devotees, and it shows, as we have before pointed out, how little power for good have its glittering generalities about "love" and returning good for evil and "the fatherhood of God and the brotherhood of man" when pitted

against positive precepts of proscription, spoliation, persecution, and slaughter. "The Puritans of New England appear to have been neither shocked nor perplexed with the institution, for which they made ample provision in their earliest code. They were familiar with the Greek and Roman ideas on the subject, and added the conviction that slavery was established by the law of God, and that Christianity always recognized it as the antecedent Mosaic practice. On these foundations, is it strange that it held its place so long in the history of Massachusetts?" (*ibid.*, 105). Or, may we add, that the slaveholders and religious writers and organizations of a later time found it alike necessary and easy to appeal to the Bible in defense of the "peculiar institution"?

Even as early as the beginning of the seventeenth century now and then a voice was heard in protest against slavery or some one of its most abominable features. In 1701 Judge Samuel Sewell wrote and distributed a tract embodying such a protest. He was replied to by Judge Saffin, who spoke for the overwhelming majority of New England Christians. Judge Sewell having quoted the objection that "the negroes are brought out of Pagan Countreys into places where the Gospel is Preached," and answered that "we must not doe Evil that Good may come out of it," Judge Saffin retorts: "It is no Evil thing to bring them out of their own Heathenish Country, where they may have the Knowledge of the True God, be Converted, and Eternally saved." This was as good as the plea of the Inquisitor that it was a just and merciful act to burn the heretic here in the hope

of saving his soul or the soul of some one else from eternal fire, and was cut from the same bolt, whereof the warp was superstition and the woof mercenary self-interest. Judge Saffin sums up his argument in these sentences: "By all which it doth evidently appear both by Scripture and Reason, the practice of the People of God in all Ages, both before and after the giving of the Law, and in the times of the Gospel, that there were Bond men, Women, and Children commonly kept by holy and good men, and improved in Service, and therefore by the Command of God (Lev. xxv., 44), and their venerable Example, we may keep Bond men, and use them in our Service still; yet with all candour, moderation, and Christian prudence, according to their state and condition, consonant to the Word of God" (See Moore, *ibid.*, Appendix, 254, 256). The "candour" is or is not apparent, according to the point of view, but the "moderation" of slavery is a contradiction in terms, as another judge, Ruffin, of the Supreme Court of North Carolina, well stated in 1802: "The power of the master must be absolute. This discipline belongs to the state of slavery; it constitutes the curse of slavery to both the bond and free; but it is inherent in the relation of master and slave." Judge Wardlaw, of South Carolina, adds his testimony: "Every endeavor to extend to a slave positive rights is an attempt to reconcile inherent contradictions; for, in the very nature of things, he is subject to despotism" (Quoted by Judge George M. Stroud, in "The Views of Judge Woodward and Bishop Hopkins," etc.). What avail the "Christian prudence"—if there be such—prated of by Judge Saffin

would be under the condition stated by Judges Ruffin and Wardlaw can easily be inferred, even without the commentary of the history of Christian slavery.

This brief sketch of the attitude of the Christians of America towards the institution of chattel slavery would scarcely be complete without some reference to the many books and pamphlets written by clergymen and prominent laymen in defense of the system of ownership of human beings or in attempted palliation of its offenses. Following will be found a few excerpts from publications which appeared from 1842 to 1865, inclusive.

**The Religious Instruction of Negroes in the United States.** By Charles C. Jones. Savannah. Published by Thomas Purse. 1842.

The author, a minister, and then living at Riceboro, Georgia, asks that "the blessing of Almighty God attend the effort" he is making, and devotes two hundred and seventy-seven pages to an argument and plea for the religious instruction of the slaves, going very minutely into details as to the how, when, where, and by whom of the work. One central thought runs as a strong rope through the whole book—nothing should be done or permitted which may have a tendency to jeopard the perpetuity of the institution. Arguing for gospel teaching as part of the duty of masters, Mr. Jones says:

"The word of God recognizes the relation of master and servant, and addresses express commands to us as masters. In the constitution of his visible church on earth, Almighty God included the servants of families; commanded the sign of

his everlasting and gracious covenant to be made in their flesh, and thereby secured to them, as well as to children the privileges and blessings of the same" (p. 161). Answering the objection that "If we suffer our negroes to be religiously instructed, the way will be opened for men from abroad to enter into and inculcate doctrines subversive of our interests and safety," he replies that "In this objection the Gospel is not feared, but the agents by whom it is preached." To guard against such a danger from without, they must take the religious instruction of their negroes into their own hands, he avers. He is told that such teaching "will lead to neglect of duty and insubordination." He asks, "How can it?" He is answered: "You teach them that 'God is no respecter of persons'; that 'he hath made of one blood all nations of men'; 'thou shalt love thy neighbor as thyself,' " etc. He replies that this "might result from imperfect and injudicious religious instruction," but challenges any one to show that "neglect of duty and insubordination are the legitimate effects of the Gospel purely and sincerely imparted to servants." He declares that history shows it to be "the most powerful of all causes in allaying the wild and stormy and rebellious tempers of the mind," and in securing "submission to authority and law." "Religion is a great enlightener of the human mind," he declares, it gives "an elevation to character, and dignity and importance to men"; affords them a "knowledge of, as well as a protection to, their interests and rights in connection with each other," but, is the unavoidable inference from his argument, it will not lead those to revolt whom God

designed to be and remain slaves. "Religion . . . teaches all men submission to the will of God expressed both in his Word and in his Providence [that is to say, both in the slavery-sanctioning Bible and in the institution itself]; and by its life-giving spirit influences them to fulfil the duties of their respective callings faithfully and quietly." Then he devotes two pages to quotations from Paul and Peter—Paul's exhortations to servants to be obedient, his directions to ministers to withdraw themselves from fellowship with whoever should teach otherwise—Peter's admonition, "Servants, be subject to your masters with all fear; not only to the good and gentle, but also to the froward," and next calls attention to Paul's return of the fugitive slave Onesimus to his master, Philemon (Philemon 10 ff.), and lays particular stress upon his warm fellowship with that slave-owner, and points out that Paul "felt no scruples in receiving and laboring with him in the Gospel." Is Mr. Jones not fully justified in triumphantly asking, "Will the duties of servants to their masters be neglected, and their authority despised, by instructions of this sort, and by a careful adherence to the example of the Apostle Paul on the part of the ministers of the Gospel?" And he continues: "Is not the discharge of duty made more sure and faithful, and respect for authority strengthened by considerations drawn from the omniscience of God and the retributions of eternity? . . . And what was the reply of the Christian negro when the ground of his obedience and fidelity to his master was inquired into? 'Sir, I fear God, whose eyes are in every place beholding the evil and the good; there

fore do I obey and am faithful as well behind my master's back as before his face' " (pp. 195 to 201). Embodying, as they do, the dominating idea that the institution must be maintained at all hazards, these following quotations from the Christian minister's utterances are valuable:

"Our principle is that laid down by the holy and just One, 'render unto Cesar the things which are Cesar's and unto God the things that are God's.' And Christ and his Apostles are our example. Did they deem it proper and consistent with the good order of society to preach the gospel to servants? They did. In discharge of this duty, did they interfere with their civil condition? They did not. They expressed no opinion whatever on the subject, if we except that which appears in one of the epistles to the Corinthian Church. There the Apostle Paul considers a state of freedom preferable to one of servitude, and advises slaves if they can lawfully obtain their freedom, to do it; but not otherwise. He does not treat the question as one of very great moment in comparison to the benefits of the Gospel" (p. 193). The key to the small social influence of the church for good is found in the last sentence quoted—Christianity has never considered reform of temporal conditions as of "great moment in comparison to the benefits of the Gospel." And yet latter-day Christians make a great vaunt of the alleged civilizing influence of their religion, forgetful alike that their master's kingdom is "not of this world," and of the most frank admissions that it is not which their brethren have been making down to very recent years.

"The missionaries should be Southern men, or



men, no matter from what country, yet identified in views, feelings, and interests with the South, and who possess the confidence of society" (p. 235).

The anti-slavery ministers "are incendiaries of the worst order and for whom the laws provide very summary justice" (p. 236).

"The owner should as occasion offers or at regular times, converse privately with the people on the great subject of their soul's salvation. The members of the church should receive his special attention. . . . He should stand with the parents in that interesting and solemn moment" [baptism of infants] (p. 245).

"As ministers or missionaries to the negroes, in the discharge of our official duty, and in our intercourse with the negroes, we should have nothing to do with their civil condition. We are appointed of God to preach 'the unsearchable riches of Christ' to our perishing fellowmen. . . . We shall, by so doing, in the most effectual manner subserve the interests of masters and servants, for time and eternity" (p. 270).

"They [the people of slaveholding states] make no objection to merchants, lawyers, physicians, divines, teachers, or mechanics coming and settling among them from any part of the world. They are entitled to their own opinions, but they are neither to be expressed nor propagated so as to produce disturbance in society" (p. 273).

This illustrates once more that noble "liberty which is in Christ Jesus" with which from infancy our ears have been dinned.

**Two Letters on Slavery in the United States.**

Addressed to Thomas Clarkson, Esq. By J. H. Hammond, Late Governor of South Carolina. From "The South Carolinian." 1845.

"You have been spared to see in spite of all your toils and those of your fellow laborers, and the accomplishment of all that human agency could do, the African Slave Trade has increased three-fold under your own eyes—more rapidly, perhaps, than any other ancient branch of commerce—and that your efforts to suppress it have effected nothing more than a three-fold increase of its horrors. There is a God who rules this world—All powerful—Far-seeing: He does not permit his creatures to foil his designs. . . . Can you doubt this?" (p. 4).

Refusing to consider slavery in the abstract, Governor Hammond regards it as it is, and says: "The first question we have to ask ourselves is, whether it is contrary to the Will of God, as revealed to us in His Holy Scriptures—the only certain means given to us to ascertain His Will. If it is, then slavery is a sin. And I admit at once that every man is bound to set his face against it, and to emancipate his slaves should he hold any." Then he quotes: "Thou shalt not covet . . . his man-servant nor his maid-servant . . . nor anything that is thy neighbor's." He comments: "Which is the Tenth of those Commandments that declare the essential principles of the Great Moral Law delivered to Moses by God himself. . . . Does it not emphatically and explicitly forbid you to disturb your neighbor in the enjoyment of his property? . . . Prominent in the catalogue stands 'his man-servant and his maid-servant,' who are thus distinctly consecrated as his property" (p. 6).

"You cannot deny that there were among the Hebrews 'Bond-men forever.' You cannot deny that God especially authorized his chosen people to purchase 'Bond-men forever' from the Heathen, as recorded in the 25th Chapter of Leviticus, and that they are there designated by the very Hebrew word used in the Tenth Commandment. Nor can you deny that a 'Bond-man forever' is a 'Slave'; yet you endeavor to hang an argument of immortal consequence upon the wretched subterfuge that the precise word 'slave' is not to be found in the translation of the Bible. As if the Translators were canonical expounders of Holy Scriptures, and their words, not God's meaning, must be regarded as His Revelation.

"It is in vain to look to Christ or any of his apostles to justify such blasphemous perversions of the Word of God. Although slavery in its most revolting form was everywhere visible around them, no visionary notions of piety or philanthropy ever tempted them to gainsay the LAW, even to mitigate the cruel severity of the existing system. On the contrary, regarding slavery as an established as well as inevitable condition of human society, they never hinted at such a thing as its termination on earth, any more than that 'the poor may cease out of the land,' which God affirms to Moses shall never be. . . . It is impossible therefore to suppose that slavery is contrary to the Will of God. It is equally absurd to say that American slavery differs in form or principle from that of the Chosen People. • We accept the Bible terms as the definition of our slavery, and its precepts as the guide of our conduct. [Mr. Hammond italicizes the

words underlined.] We desire nothing more. Even the right to 'buffet,' which is esteemed so shocking, finds its express license in the Gospel (1 Peter, ii., 20). Nay, what is more, God directs the Hebrews, to 'bore holes in the ears of their brothers' to mark them, when, under certain circumstances, they become perpetual slaves (Exodus, xxi., 6).

"I think, then, I can safely conclude, and I firmly believe, that American slavery is not only not a sin, but especially commanded by God through Moses, and approved by Christ through his Apostles. And here I might close its defense; for what God ordains and Christ sanctifies should surely command the respect and toleration of Man. But I fear there has grown up in our time a Transcendental Religion, which is throwing even Transcendental Philosophy in the shade—a Religion too pure and elevated for the Bible; which seeks to erect among men a higher standard of Morals than the Almighty has revealed or the Savior preached; and which is probably destined to do more to impede the extension of God's Kingdom on earth than all the Infidels who have ever lived" (p. 7).

In his second letter, referring again to the 25th chapter of Leviticus, Governor Hammond quotes verses 44-5-6, and comments at length; the underlined words being italicized by him. The capitals, and words in brackets are also his: "'Both thy Bondmen and thy Bondmaids, which thou shalt have, shall be of the Heathen [Africans?] that are round about you; of them ye shall buy Bondmen and Bondmaids. Moreover, of the children of the strangers that do sojourn among you. of them shall ye buy, and of their families that

are with you which they begat in your land [descendants of Africans?] and they shall be your possession. And ye shall take them as an inheritance for your children after you, to inherit them for a possession. **THEY SHALL BE YOUR BONDMEN FOREVER.**' What human legislature could make a decree more full and explicit than this? What court of Law or Chancery could defeat a title to a slave couched in terms so clear and complete as this? And this is the Law of God, whom you pretend to worship, while you denounce and traduce us for respecting it. . . . Although Christ came 'not to destroy but to fulfil the Law,' he nevertheless did formally abrogate some of the ordinances promulgated by Moses, and all such as were at war with his mission of 'peace and good will on earth.' He 'specifically' annuls, for instance, one 'barbarous custom' sanctioned by those ordinances, where he says, 'Ye have heard that it hath been said, An eye for an eye and a tooth for a tooth; but I say unto you that ye resist not evil, but whosoever shall smite thee on the right cheek turn to him the other, also.' Now, in the time of Christ it was usual for masters to put their slaves to death on the slightest provocation. They even killed and cut them up to feed their fishes. He was undoubtedly aware of these things, as well as of the Law and Commandment I have quoted. He could only have been restrained from denouncing them, as he did the *lex talionis*, because he knew that in despite of these barbarities the institution of slavery was at the bottom a sound and wholesome as well as lawful one. Certain it is, that in His wisdom and purity

he did not see proper to interfere with it. In your wisdom, however, you make the sacrilegious attempt to overthrow it" (p. 31).

"The scriptural sanction of slavery is in fact so palpable, and so strong, that both wings of your party are beginning to acknowledge it. The more sensible and moderate admit, as the organ of the Free Church of Scotland, 'The North British Review,' has lately done, that they 'are precluded by the statements and conduct of the Apostles from regarding mere slave-holding as essentially sinful,' while the desperate and reckless, who are bent upon keeping up the agitation at every hazard, declare, as has been done in 'The Anti-Slavery Record,' 'If our inquiry turns out in favor of slavery, **IT IS THE BIBLE THAT MUST FALL, AND NOT THE RIGHTS OF HUMAN NATURE.**' You cannot, I am satisfied, much longer maintain before the world, the Christian platform from which to wage war upon our institutions. Driven from it, you must abandon the contest, or, repudiating REVELATION, rush into the horrors of NATURAL RELIGION" (p. 32).

Bible Defense of Slavery; and Origin, Fortunes, and History of the Negro Race. By Rev. Joseph Priest, A. M. Fifth Edition. Glasgow, Ky. Published by Rev. W. S. Brown, M. D. 1852.

"God, who made all things, and endowed all animated nature with the strange and unexplained power of propagation, superintended the formation of two of the sons of Noah, in the womb of their mother, in an extraordinary manner, giving to these two

children such forms of bodies, constitutions of natures, and complexions of skin, as suited his will. Those two sons were Japheth and Ham. Japheth he caused to be born white, differing from color of his parents, while he caused Ham to be born black; a color still farther removed from the red hue of his parents than was white, events and products wholly contrary to nature, in the particular of animal generation, as relates to the human race. It was, therefore, by the miraculous intervention of the Divine power that the black and white man have been produced, equally as much as was the creation of the color of the first man, the Creator giving him a complexion, arbitrarily, that pleased the Divine will" (p. 33).

"See I. Cor. xx., 21, where both the fact of negro slavery and its legal righteousness are as plainly, though incidentally, stated, as it is in Gen. ix., 25, Levit. xxv., 44-46, or any other doctrine of the Scriptures, elsewhere. . . . St. Paul . . . says, that on account of their being converted to the faith of Christ, no man was to forsake his business or calling, but was to remain as he was, in such a particular; showing, thereby, that Christianity did not contemplate the breaking up of the civil relations of the country, even as they were then in operation among the people. To make this point clear, he seizes upon an extreme case of human calling, which was that of slavery, and urges that such a one was to expect no change in his temporal affairs, on account of his faith in Christ" (p. 294). Rev. Mr. Priest quotes the comment of Rev. Dr. Adam Clarke, himself an opponent of slavery, on these remarks of

Corinth, who had been converted to Christianity, had been led to suppose that their Christian character absolved them from slavery. A spirit of this kind might have led to confusion and to insubordination, and brought a just scandal on the church" (p. 297). "On the words, as above used by St. Paul [when returning Onesimus to Philemon], 'whom I have sent again,' Dr. Clarke says, the Christian religion never cancels any civil relations; a slave on being converted and becoming a free man in Christ, has no right to claim, on that account, emancipation from the service of his master. Justice, therefore, required St. Paul to send Onesimus back to his master. He further says on this case, 'there is no reason to believe that Onesimus was of the kindred of Philemon, and we must take the term "flesh," as used in the sixteenth verse of that letter, as a reference, made by Paul, to the purchase right Philemon had in Onesimus; he was a part of his property as a slave'" (p. 299). "That St. Paul sanctioned any such doctrine, as the manumitting of bond slaves, because they happened to become converted, does not appear, while the contrary is abundant, which we are further able to produce, from the text of the New Testament, and of Paul's own writings. See Timothy vi., 1-4. 'Let as many servants as are under the yoke, count their masters worthy of all honor, that the name of God be not blasphemed. And they that have believing masters, let them not despise them, but rather do service, because they are faithful and beloved partakers of the benefits; these things teach and exhort'" (p. 301). "At the very time when Christianity was being set forth and



established in Judea and the surrounding countries, by the Savior, his disciples, and the apostles, after the crucifixion, the custom of owning and dealing in slaves greatly prevailed in all the Roman empire, and yet we do not find this practice once referred to, by way of reproof, in the New Testament" (p. 306). "The prophets were not afraid to reprove sin, whether personal or national, though they lost their lives by it. How much more, therefore, would not the inspirer of the prophets reprove sin, who was in Christ, without measure? This is a hard point for abolitionism to weather; for if the founder of the Christian religion, in the very midst of the sin complained of, did not reprove it, who are abolitionists, that they should? Are they more righteous than the Master? Is it not enough, if the servant be as his master? Were it not far more wise to believe that God, in Christ, had respect to his own determinations on the subject of Negro slavery, as signified to Noah, to Moses, and to the Hebrews, which was not to be abolished, even by the benign influences of the Gospel?" (p. 307.) "The word 'cursed,' as used in relation to the destinies of the Negro race, were used in the imperative and judicial sense—not prophetically. In those passages, Gen. ix., 25-6-7, the person who violated the privacy of Noah in his repose, is alluded to as being then, at the very time the deed was done, a cursed character, and in him, all his race. In the text, as it is translated, the words, cursed be Ham, is an imprecation on the head of Ham and his progeny, all identified, then and there, in his person. But, as it reads in the original, cursed Ham, without the be—which is a supplied

word—it makes Ham to have been then, at that very time, a cursed man, and in him, all his race, in relation to slavery, excluding altogether any such notion as the passages being a mere prophecy” (p. 317). “To kill and exterminate them [Canaanites], showing them no mercy, was the direct and pointed command of God, as we have before shown, Deut. vii., 2. Under so large a license as this, the man is a fool who will pretend that stealing and enslaving the Negro Canaanites was prohibited by those passages, as above presented [forbidding men-stealing]; especially when the law of Moses, in Levit. xxv., 44-6, directly and pointedly allowed the Hebrews to make bondmen of that people, and to use them as slaves forever. . . . But, says one, to enslave a negro man is against the intent of the law of Moses, inasmuch as St. Paul has said, Romans xiii., 8, and Gal. v., 14, that love to our neighbor is the fulfilling of the law; how, therefore, can any one love, in the true and holy sense of the word, who enslaves a black man? This is answered as follows: God having judicially appointed that race to servitude, the law of love cannot abrogate it, any more than the law of love can abrogate several other particulars of judicial appointment; such as, it is appointed unto men that they should die; the woman was condemned to be ruled over by her husband; the earth was cursed, in relation to its fruitfulness; the wicked dead are sent to hell; the earth is doomed to be burnt up; and many more things which might be adduced as being determined judicially; all of which the law of love cannot reach nor abrogate. It is idle, therefore, to urge an argument on such ground as that;

for God's determinations and decrees are not frustrated by his benevolence, else there were an end to his government. To strengthen this position, if need be, we may mention that Abraham, Job, Lot, and thousands of [others] of the holy men of old, as well as modern, had vast multitudes of black slaves. Were none of these lovers of God and their neighbors, in the true and holy sense of the word?" (pp. 336-7).

Really, such a candid and logical Christian as this Rev. Mr. Priest is a genuine tonic, so refreshing is he when contrasted with the multitude of shifting, shuffling, evading, cuttle-fishing, dust-throwing, reconciling, allegorizing, spiritualizing, and facing-every-way apologists who to-day are the chief defenders of the "faith once delivered to the saints."

"When Moses wrote the famous passage of Deut. xxiv., 7, saying to the Hebrews, that if any man among them was found out to have stolen any of their brethren, the Israelites, and having sold them, that such a one should be put to death, what a pity it is that there was not, at the time, a thorough-going abolitionist at the elbow of Moses, to have just popped the idea respecting the strict necessity there was of inserting simply a word or two in favor of the Negroes, and to read as follows: If any man be found stealing any black or Negro person of the race of Ham, whom Noah cursed, from this time to the end of the world, and maketh merchandise of them [him], then that thief should [shall] be put to death. Such a clause would have done the business exactly. Oh, what a pity! what a pity that abolitionism could not have had a hand in the councils of Heaven about

that time, as well as when St. Paul wrote to Philemon and Timothy on the subject of negro slavery" (p. 337).

"With us, the Bible is the only infallible standard, both of religion and humanity. . . . There is but one divine and absolutely perfect code of social duties; one absolutely perfect constitution of society in the world. . . . It was written, and is the only law ever literally written, by the hand of God. . . . To one section of it, we emphatically invite attention. It is the consummating statute of the divine constitution: 'Thou shalt not covet thy neighbor's wife; thou shalt not covet thy neighbor's house, nor his man-servant, nor his maid-servant, nor his ox, nor his ass, nor anything that is thy neighbor's' property. This is our first argument in demonstration of the Divine recognition and acknowledgment of the relation of master and servant, or of one man having a rightful property in another. . . . That a man is here as fully recognized as property as a house, an ox, an ass, is indisputable. The term selected is as fully defined as any other term in the precept—as the term wife, and the term house" (Rev. A. Campbell, of Bethany College, Va., founder of the Disciple or Campbellite Church; the man who held the famous debate with Robert Dale Owen in Cincinnati (pp. 513, 515, of Priest's book).

In the same volume, beginning at page 522 and filling forty-six pages of small type, Rev. George Junkin, of Miami University, Ohio, goes very carefully over the whole ground, his conclusions being embodied in these propositions and subordinate propositions:

"The Hebrews were permitted, by their law, to buy servants from the heathen; to hold them in perpetual servitude; and to transmit them as hereditary property to their children.

"That God has nowhere, in the Old Testament, PROHIBITED slavery. There is no command to this amount, Masters, let your servants go free. The relation of master and slave is nowhere condemned as a sin and forbidden to exist.

"That there is not a sentence in the New Testament, which expressly forbids the having and the holding of a slave.

"That there is not a sentence in the New Testament, which, by fair and just interpretation, according to the rules of grammar, gives ground for the logical inference, that the simple holding of a slave, or slaves, is inconsistent with Christian profession and Christian character.

"My first subordinate proposition, here, is, that the Greek word, *doulos*, usually translated servant, properly and commonly means a person held to service for life—a slave.

"The second subordinate proposition with an inference, is, that Paul advises servants to abide quietly in their condition. This he could not do if the relation of master and slave was, in itself, a sin.

"The third subordinate proposition, with an inference—The New Testament recognizes some masters as good men—true and faithful believers; therefore, the relation of master and slave may exist consistently with Christian character and profession.

"The fourth subordinate proposition—The New Testament recognizes the existence of slavery.

**"The fifth subordinate proposition—The New Testament prescribes the duties of servants to their masters; enjoining obedience to the one and kind treatment from the other.**

**A South-Side View of Slavery; or, Three Months at the South, in 1854. By Nehemiah Adams, D. D. Boston: Published by T. R. Marvin, and B. B. Mussey & Co. 1854.**

Mr. Adams evidently tries to be scrupulously fair to all parties to the slavery question, to strenuously endeavor not to "set down aught in malice," but his clerical training and his Christian preconceptions are seriously in the way of his giving a perfectly candid view of the great problem. He holds the Abolitionists responsible for the bitterness imported into the discussion and for the retardation of the work of emancipation in the South itself by the Southern people, contrasting, very much to their discredit, the methods of the Abolitionists with those of God, Jesus, and the Apostles, as he reads and interprets the Bible record. He sees a "preferableness of freedom to slavery, in the divine mind and plan," where the other clergymen we have quoted, and shall quote, can find nothing of the kind. His own instincts are in favor of freedom, he believes with his whole heart that the Bible is the Word of God, and, consequently, he is under a strong and constant pressure to read into the text meanings, intentions, and principles that have no legitimate place there. "When the Hebrew nation was organized by the Most High, he found among the people masters and slaves. He could have purged out slaveholding by positive enact-

ments; he could have rid the people of all the slave owners by making their dead bodies fall in the wilderness. Instead of this, he made slavery the subject of legislation, prescribed its duties, and protected the parties concerned in the performance of them" (p. 190). This plea in demurrer is almost too pathetic to be amusing and almost too amusing to be pathetic. "The Most High" "found among the people masters and slaves"! This would imply that "The Most High" had just come upon the scene; that hitherto he had been in total ignorance of and was in no way responsible for the conditions that existed among the Israelites. How does this assumption comport with the Theistic and Christian (and therefore with Mr. Adams's) conception of "His" all-knowledge, all-power, and all-creativeness?

"The way in which the Apostles evidently purposed to remove slavery, was by creating a state of things in which it would cease. . . . The only method of expelling certain weeds—sorrel, for example—is, to enrich the soil. The gospel is to slavery what the growing of clover is to sorrel. Religion in the master destroys everything in slavery which makes it obnoxious; and not only so, it converts the relation of the slave into an effectual means of happiness" (p. 197). Ergo, if all slave owners were sufficiently pious, we should all desire to be slaves! But what about the poor owners, cut off from a state of life so productive of joy? However, there is no evidence that the Apostles "purposed to remove slavery," and as to the alleged preparatory enrichment of the soil of the human mind by the Gospel, it is a curious

commentary on Mr. Adams's theory that the justice of slavery was not seriously questioned, by any large number of persons, until the gospel fertilizer had been very much diluted by heresy. Again, Mr. Adams hopelessly contradicted himself when he said that the Apostles "purposed to remove slavery, by creating a state of things in which it would cease," that is, by the spread of the Gospel, and then added that "religion [the Gospel] . . . converts the relation of the slave into an effectual means of happiness." Which can mean nothing but that the universal acceptance and living of the Gospel carries with it the universal establishment of the very slavery that he asserts is opposed to the "divine mind and plan"! But as both Jesus and the Apostles looked for the early, almost immediate, ending of the world, as they knew it, they could have had no plans for present or future changes in social relations prior to the advent of the millennium.

What softened Mr. Adams's opinion of slavery, as he found it on its own ground, was the extreme religiousness of the Southern atmosphere, including the pious influences to which the slaves were subjected. That this should be so, is evident from what has already been quoted, and here follow two paragraphs that are specific in their revelations of his state of mind:

"There is another striking peculiarity of Southern society which is attributed to slavery, and is very interesting to a Northerner at the present day. While the colored people are superstitious and excitable, popular delusions and fanaticisms do not prevail among them. The class of society among



us in which these things get root has a substitute in the colored population. Spiritual rappings, biology, Second-Adventism, Mormonism, and the whole spawn of errors which infest us, do not find subjects at the South. There is far more faith in the South, taken as a whole, than with us" (p. 45).

"When religious instruction, the pure, simple gospel of Jesus Christ, is extended to our laboring classes generally, adults and children, as fully as it is enjoyed by the slaves in such parts of the South as I visited, an object will be gained of far more intrinsic importance to our national prosperity than all questions relating to slavery" (p. 53). These words reveal as by a flash of electric light the dominating thought in his mind.

His animus toward the Anti-slavery workers as contrasted, in his thought and feeling, with the Apostles is very clearly shown in these lines: "The apostolic spirit with regard to slavery, surely, is not of the same tone with the spirit which encourages slaves everywhere to flee from their masters, and teaches them that his swiftest horse, his boat, his purse, are theirs, if they wish to escape. Philemon, traveling with Onesimus, was not annoyed by a vigilance committee of Paul's Christian friends with a habeas corpus to rescue the servant from his master; nor did these friends watch the arrival of ships to receive the fugitive consigned by 'the saints and faithful brethren which were at Colosse' to the 'friends of the slave' at Corinth. True, these disciples had not enjoyed the light which the Declaration of American Independence sheds on the subject of human rights. Moses,

Paul, and Christ were their authorities on moral subjects" (p. 199).

**Scriptural and Statistical Views in Favor of Slavery.**

By Thornton Stringfellow, D. D. Fourth Edition, with Additions. J. W. Randolph: Richmond, Va. 1856.

Examining the Bible, Mr. Stringfellow maintains that slavery had "The sanction of the Almighty in the Patriarchal age. That it was incorporated into the only National Constitution which ever emanated from God. That its legality was recognized, and its relative duties regulated, by Jesus Christ in his kingdom, and, That it is full of mercy" (p. 6).

"Before we conclude slavery to be a thing hateful to God, and a great sin in his sight, it is proper we should search the records he has given us. . . . God decreed slavery—and shows in that decree, tokens of good-will to the master. The sacred records . . . bring to our notice a man that is held up as a model, in all that adorns human nature, and as one that God delighted to honor. This man is Abraham. . . . He was 'very rich' . . . in flocks and slaves" (pp. 8 to 11). When Hagar fled from Sarah, her mistress, into the wilderness, the "angel of God" found her there, as the legend tells. This is a test case, thinks Mr. Stringfellow. "What, therefore, is the doctrine in relation to slavery, in a case in which a rigid exercise of its arbitrary authority is called forth upon a helpless female, who might use a strong plea for protection upon the ground of being the master's wife? In the face of this case, which is hedged around with aggravations as if

God designed by it to awaken all the sympathy and all the abhorrence of that portion of mankind who claim to have more mercy than God himself—I say, in view of this strong case, what is the doctrine taught? Is it that God abhors the institution of slavery; that it is a reproach to good men; that the evils of the institution can no longer be winked at among the saints; that Abraham's character must not be transmitted to posterity, with this stain upon it; that Sarah must no longer be allowed to live a stranger to the abhorrence God has for such conduct as she has been guilty of to this poor helpless female? I say, what is the doctrine taught? Is it so plain that it can be easily understood? And does God teach that she is a bondwoman, or slave, and that she is to recognize Sarah as her mistress, and not her equal—that she must return and submit herself unreservedly to Sarah's authority? Judge for yourself, reader, by the angel's answer: 'And the angel of the Lord said unto her, Return unto thy mistress, and submit thyself unto her hands.'"—Gen. xvi., 9. (p. 13).

"Has God ingrafted hereditary slavery upon the constitution of government he condescended to give his chosen people—that people among whom he promised to dwell, and that he required to be holy? I answer he has. It is clear and explicit. He enacts, first, that his chosen people may take their money, go into the slave markets of the surrounding nations, (the seven devoted nations excepted) and purchase men-servants and women-servants, and give them, and their increase, to their children and their children's children, forever; and, worse still for the refined humanity of our age—

he guarantees to the foreign slaveholder perfect protection, while he comes in among the Israelites, for the purpose of dwelling, and raising and selling slaves, who should be acclimated and accustomed to the habits and institutions of the country. And, worse still for the sublimated humanity of the present age, God passes with the right to buy and possess, the right to govern, by a severity which knows no bounds but the master's discretion" (p. 27). "In the criminal code, that conduct is punished with death, when done to a freeman, which is not punishable at all when done by a master to a slave, for the express reason, that the slave is the master's money. 'He that smiteth a man so that he die, shall surely be put to death.' Exod. xxi., 11, 12. 'If a man smite his servant or his maid, with a rod, and he die under his hand, he shall be surely punished; notwithstanding, if he continue a day or two, he shall not be punished, for he is his money.' Exod. xxi., 20. Here is precisely the same crime—smiting a man so that he die; if it be a freeman, he shall surely be put to death, whether the man die under his hand, or live a day or two after; but if it be a servant, and the master continued the rod until the servant died under his hand, then it must be evident that such a chastisement could not be necessary for any purpose of wholesome or reasonable authority, and therefore he may be punished, but not with death. But if the death did not take place for a day or two, then it is to be presumed that the master aimed to use the rod only so far as was necessary to produce subordination, and for this, the law which allowed him to lay out his money in the

slave, would protect him against all punishment" (p. 30).

"It is a singular circumstance that Jesus Christ should put a system of measures into operation, which have for their object the subjugation of all men to him as a law-giver—kings, legislators, and private citizens in all nations; at a time, too, when hereditary slavery existed in all; and after it had been incorporated for fifteen hundred years into the Jewish constitution, immediately given by God himself, [and] . . . should fail to prohibit its further existence, if it was his intention to abolish it. Such an omission or oversight can not be charged upon any other legislator the world has ever seen" (p. 34). This clergyman points out that "Do to others as you would they should do to you," can not have been expected of Jesus to abolish slavery, for it is only another form of Moses' "thou shalt love thy neighbor as thyself," and that had done nothing of the kind; it had, in fact, been promulgated by the man, who, under God, had established slavery in Israel. "The very God that said to them, they should love him supremely, and their neighbors as themselves, said to them also, 'of the Heathen that are round about you, thou shalt buy bond-men and bond-women, and they shall be your possession, and ye shall take them as an inheritance for your children after you, to inherit them as a possession; they shall be your bond-men forever'" (p. 36). We do not recall the name of an "Infidel" who has so neatly, succinctly, cruelly, and effectively exposed the sham of "universal love" as has the Rev. Mr. Thornton Stringfellow, D. D., minister of Christ, in the lines last quoted. He con-

tinues: "Why a master cannot do to a servant, or a servant to a master, as he would have them do to him, as soon as a wife to a husband or a husband to a wife, I am utterly at a loss to know. The wife is 'subject to her husband in all things' by Divine precept. He is her 'head,' and God 'suffers her not to usurp authority over him'" (ibid.). "All three, polygamy, divorce, and slavery, were sanctioned by the law of Moses. But under the Gospel, slavery has been sanctioned in the church, while polygamy and divorce have been excluded from the church. It is manifest, therefore, that under the Gospel, polygamy and divorce have been made sins, by prohibition, while slavery remains lawful because sanctioned and continued. The lawfulness of slavery under the Gospel, rests upon the sovereign pleasure of Christ, in permitting it; and the sinfulness of polygamy and divorce upon his sovereign pleasure in prohibiting their continuance. The law of Christ gives to the relation of slavery its full sanction. That law is to be found, First, in the admission, by the Apostles, of slaveholders and their slaves into the Gospel church; second, in the positive injunction by the Holy Ghost, of obedience on the part of Christian slaves in this relation, to their believing masters; third, in the absence of any injunction upon the believing master, under any circumstances, to dissolve this relation; fourth, in the absence of any instruction from Christ or the Apostles, that the relation is sinful; and, lastly, in the injunction of the Holy Ghost, delivered by Paul, to withdraw from all such as teach that this relation is sinful" (p. 95).

**Lectures on the Philosophy and Practice of Slavery, as Exhibited in the Institution of Domestic Slavery in the United States; with the Duties of Masters to Slaves. By William A. Smith, D. D., President of Randolph-Macon College, and Professor of Moral and Intellectual Philosophy. Edited by Thomas O. Summers, D. D. Nashville, Tenn.: Stevenson & Evans. 1856.**

“The patriarchal form of government, which existed before the theocracy of the Jews, constituted the patriarch (he being the head of the family), the owner of slaves. Abraham, Lot, and others, held them in large numbers. These men enjoyed the unqualified approbation of Jehovah, and in their character of slaveholders, no less than in many other respects” (p. 138).

“No state in this Union can, with more propriety, be regarded a slaveholding community, than was that of the Jewish people in the days of the Savior. In every congregation which he addressed, bond slaves may have mingled. The hospitalities of every family of which he partook, were probably ministered to him, more or less, by domestic slaves. And in all this time, and under all these circumstances, not a word is known to have escaped him, either in public or private, declaring the relation of master and slave to be sinful! But, on the contrary, Paul’s denunciation—I Tim. vi., 3—of the teachers of abolition doctrines, that they ‘consent not to wholesome words, even the words of our Lord Jesus Christ,’ is sufficient reason to believe that he was always understood to approve of the relation, and to condemn in express terms all at-

tempts to abolish it as a duty of the religion which he taught" (p. 143).

"Now, the Bible is not only being circulated, and its truths enforced from the pulpit, but a great many arrangements of Divine Providence are in constant operation, not only to secure the prevalence of Bible truths in our land, but also to place these truths in such circumstances as shall secure the permanent establishment of civil and religious liberty. Of these arrangements of Divine Providence, we may select as germane to the general subject of discussion, the conservative influence of the system of domestic slavery" (p. 268). This writer, a Methodist, thought he saw a great conflict impending in the heart of this continent between European and Asiatic hordes, Catholic and Heathen, and he looked to the South, with its vast number of Christian Africans, who could never, whether bond or free, be social or political equals of the white masters of the land, to save the country from Catholic religious slavery on the one hand and from Heathen degradation on the other. It was for this end that God had introduced the Africans into America! Professor Smith does not suggest that possibly it might have been just as easy for God to keep out the Catholics and Celestials and so obviate any necessity for the existence of the institution of American slavery.

**Modern Reform Examined; or, The Union of North and South on the Subject of Slavery. By Rev. Joseph C. Stiles. Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott & Co., Publishers. 1857.**

This author, a Presbyterian, thinks slavery is



wrong in its nature, but possibly right "in its circumstances." It would be "inconceivable" "under the original constitution of things," and the sin "insufferable." But the "Fall" changed all that. Slavery will come. "Man will introduce it. He now seeks himself supremely, and hating labor, in his superior strength, will force the weaker to work for him. God will introduce it. If to express his displeasure with sinning man he introduces earthquake, tempest, pestilence, famine, and war, it is perfectly natural that he should employ this unnatural institution, and many other similar evils, for the same purpose. Does he not employ it to evangelize the heathen? Gen. xvii., 12, 13. The second palpable change is this: Slavery, so necessarily sinful in the first condition of humanity, may be entirely free from sin in the second. The sinful conduct of man may justify bondage both temporary and permanent" (p. 11). "Idolatry, adultery, fornication, falsehood, theft, robbery, drunkenness, violence, murder, and a multitude of smaller offenses, are never mentioned in the Scriptures without decided condemnation; and yet not one word of censure is pronounced upon master and servant, though this relation is brought up frequently and discussed abundantly in the Old Testament and the New" (p. 21). "See the slave laws of Moses. Say! can God direct a man to do many things as a master habitually, if to be a master for one moment is sinful in itself? Can the being a master be sinful, if acting as a master is not?" (p. 23). It is proved that slavery is not sinful per se, "By the commands which God addresses to the Christian masters of the New Testament Church. Tell me!

if these masters act in accordance with divine injunctions, can it be sin to do what God commands? If it is sin, can God instruct men how to commit it?" (p. 24).

"In many of its present aspects the hostility [to slavery] is still justifiable. In one point of view it is deeply censurable. It leaves out wholly the comforting, the Christian side of the case. Yes! the great descriptive truth in this whole history men greatly overlook. To this degraded, perishing, people, the alternative was this—Slavery, or no Christianity. Savage slavery at home, without the religion of Jesus, or American slavery, with it. This was the issue which wicked men called upon God to decide. Who doubts this fact? What if Abolition intelligence had been called to the helm at this time? Why! think, my fellowmen. If the population brought to our shores had been placed in any other—yes, in any other possible position than this very relation of master and slave, they would have perished from the earth in the first generation, and the multitudes of them who have gone to heaven had never sung its songs, and God's great missionary enterprise long since been recorded a failure" (p. 187).

That is to say, with God the end justifies the means, and he, having both full knowledge and unlimited power, and therefore ability to reach a good end by good means, elects to reach it by bad means, in so far as it is reached at all, for it is to be observed that the Africans were left to go to hell by shoals until he happened to think of American slavery as a means whereby he might

save some of the descendants of those hopelessly lost.

Slavery Ordained of God. "The Powers that be are ordained of God." Romans xiii., 1. By Rev. Fred A. Ross, D. D., Pastor of the Presbyterian Church, Huntsville, Alabama. Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott & Co. 1857.

"This harmony and union [harmony among Christians, union of the North and South] can be preserved only by the view presented in this volume—i. e., that slavery is of God, and to continue for the good of the slave, the good of the master, the good of the whole American family, until another and better destiny may be unfolded" (Preface, p. 5). Mr. Ross maintained that God had nowhere decreed slavery to be a sin, and that the Golden Rule "may exist in the relations of slavery." At the same time he evidently believed that God would ultimately enter such a decree of outlawry, and he admonished his brethren of the South to prepare for it.

Here is something that should be preserved, albeit brought in only incidentally in a speech in the General Assembly of the Church: "Sir, we of the South don't understand your women's rights conventions. Women have their wrongs. 'The Song of the Shirt'—Charlotte Elizabeth—many, many laws—tell her wrongs. But your convention ladies despise the Bible. Yes, Sir; and we of the South are afraid of them and for you. When women despise the Bible, what next? Paris—then the City of the Great Salt Lake—then Sodom, before and after the Dead Sea" (p. 20). The under-

scoring is his, as in all cases, with all, when not otherwise stated. Rev. Dr. Ross looked into the future and saw nothing that greeted the vision of Rev. Dr. Smith. Instead of a hopelessly subordinate mass of Africans in the South passively helping to save the country in the conflict between the mass of ignorant Catholic immigrants and the mass of Chinese Heathen immigrants, Dr. Ross saw the South emptied of all its Africans, they Christianized, and emigrating to Africa to redeem that land, while their places were taken by tens of millions of Christianized Chinese, who were gladly accepted as the political and social equals of the whites! That was God's scheme, as he saw it by the eye of faith. In the meantime—slavery was here, and was of the same God's ordaining!

"Cain and Abel married their sisters. Was it wrong in the nature of things? [Here Dr. Wisner spoke out, and said, "Certainly."] I deny it. What an absurdity, to suppose that God could not provide for the propagation of the human race from one pair, without requiring them to sin! Adam's sons and daughters must have married, had they remained in innocence. They must then have sinned in Eden, from the very necessity of the command upon the race—'Be fruitful, and multiply, and replenish the earth.' Gen. i., 26. What pure nonsense! There Sir!—that, my one question, Dr. Wisner's reply, and my rejoinder, bring out, perfectly, the two theories of right and wrong. Sir, Abraham married his half-sister. And there is not a word forbidding such marriage, until God gave the law, Lev. xviii., prohibiting marriage in certain degrees of consanguinity. That law made, then,

such marriage sin. But God gave no such law in the family of Adam; because he made, himself, the marriage of brother and sister the way, and the only way, for the increase of the human family. He commanded them thus to marry. They would have sinned had they not thus married; for they would have transgressed his law. . . . [later, God] . . . made the law regulating marriages in the particulars of blood. But he still left polygamy untouched. [Here Dr. Wisner again asked if Dr. Ross regarded the Bible as sustaining the polygamy of the Old Testament.] Yes, sir; yes, sir; yes, sir. Let the reporters mark that question and my answer. My principle vindicates God from unintelligible abstractions. I fearlessly tell what the Bible says. In its strength, I am not afraid of earth or hell. I fear only God. God made no law against polygamy, in the beginning. Therefore it was no sin for a man to have more wives than one. God sanctioned it, and made laws in regard to it. Abraham had more wives than one; Jacob had, David had, Solomon had. God told David, by the mouth of Nathan, when he upbraided him for his ingratitude for the blessings he had given him, and said, 'And I gave thee thy master's house, and thy master's wives into thy bosom.' 2 Sam. xvii., 8" (p. 43). "The subject of slavery, in this view of right and wrong, is seen in the very light of heaven" (p. 46).

"Man fell and was cursed. The law of the control of the superior over the inferior is now to begin, and is to go on in the depraved condition of the fallen and cursed race. And, first, God said to the woman, 'Thy desire shall be to thy husband, and

he shall rule over thee.' There, in that law, is the beginning of government ordained of God. There is the beginning of the rule of the superior over the inferior, bound to obey. There, in the family of Adam, is the germ of the rule in the tribe—the state. Adam, in his right, from God, to rule over his wife and children, had all the authority afterwards expanded in the patriarch and the king. This simple, beautiful fact, there, on the first leaf of the Bible, solves the problem, whence and how has man right to rule over man" (p. 47). "The rule and the subordination which is essential to the existence of the family, God made commensurate with mankind; for mankind is only the congeries of families. When Ham, in his antediluvian recklessness, laughed at his father, God took occasion to give to the world the rule of the superior over the inferior. He cursed him. He cursed him because he left him unblessed. . . . Ham was cursed to render service, forever, to Shem and Japheth" (p. 49). "God gave to Adam sovereignty over the human race, in his first decree—'He shall rule over thee.' That was the institution of government. It was not based on the 'consent' of Eve, the governed. It was from God. He gave to Adam like authority to rule his children. It was not derived from their 'consent.' It was from God. He gave Noah the same sovereignty, with express power over life, liberty, and pursuit of happiness. It was not founded in the 'consent' of Shem, Ham, and Japheth, and their wives. It was from God. He then determined the habitations of men on all the face of the earth, and indicated to them, the form and power of their government" (p. 131).

“Moses, by direct command from God, destroyed the Midianites. He slew all the males, and carried away all the women and children. He then had all the married women and male children killed; but all the virgins, thirty-two thousand, were divided as spoil among the people. And thirty-two of these virgins, the Lord’s tribute, were given unto Eleazar, the priest, ‘as the Lord commanded Moses.’ Num. xxxi. Sir, Thomas Paine rejected the Bible on this fact among his other objections. Yea, his reason, his sensibilities, his great law of humanity, his intuitional and eternal sense of right, made it impossible for him to honor such a God. . . . God’s command made it right for Moses to destroy the Midianites and make slaves of their daughters; and I have dwelt upon these facts, to reiterate what I hold to be the first truth in morals—that a thing is right, not because it is ever so per se, but because God makes it right; and, of course, a thing is wrong, not because it is so in the nature of things, but because God makes it wrong” (p. 143). “Or will you [Albert Barnes] say, God, under the circumstances, permitted the Israelites to sin in the matter of slaveholding, just as he permitted them to sin by living in polygamy. Permitted them to sin! No, sir; God commanded them to be slaveholders. He made it the law of their social state. He made it one form of his ordained government among them. Moreover, you take it for granted all too soon, that the Israelites committed sin in their polygamy. God sanctioned their polygamy. It was therefore not sin in them. It was right. But God now forbids polygamy, under the Gospel; and now it is sin” (p. 149).

“Christ, in his rule, presupposes that the man to whom he gives it knows, and from the Bible (or Providence, or natural conscience, so far as in harmony with the Bible,) the various relations in which God has placed him; and the respective duties in those relations; i. e., the rule that he knows what he ought to expect or desire in similar circumstances. . . . For, suppose the fact to be, that the relation of master and slave is one mode of the government ordained of God. Then, sir, the master, knowing that fact, and knowing what the slave, as a slave, OUGHT to expect or desire, he, the master, then fulfils the Golden Rule when he does that unto his slave which, in similar circumstance, he OUGHT to expect to be done unto himself” (p. 162, 168).

**A Scriptural, Ecclesiastical, and Historical View of Slavery, from the Days of the Patriarch Abraham, to the Nineteenth Century. Addressed to the Right Rev. Alonzo Potter, D. D., Bishop of the Protestant Episcopal Church, in the Diocese of Pennsylvania. By John Henry Hopkins, D. D., LL. D., Bishop of the Diocese of Vermont. Fifth Thousand. New York: W. I. Pooley & Co. 1864.**

The nucleus of this volume was a sixteen-page octavo pamphlet issued in January, 1861, by “The Society for the Diffusion of Political Knowledge,” of which Society S. F. B. Morse was President and Loring Andrews Treasurer. The title of the pamphlet was “Bible View of Slavery.” In the spring of 1863 a number of prominent Episcopalians residing in Philadelphia requested the author,



in view of "the lamentable degree of ignorance" concerning "the Scriptural aspect of slavery," and of his earlier expression of opinion, to give them his "views as a Christian bishop" on said "Scriptural Aspect." He responded in a brief note, inclosing the pamphlet printed in 1861, saying that "the numerous answers which it [had] drawn forth" had not furnished him with any reason for changing his opinion. "On the contrary, those answers have only strengthened my conviction as to the sanction which the Scriptures give to the principle of Negro slavery, so long as it is administered in accordance with the precepts laid down by the Apostles" (p. 5). The pamphlet was later issued as a campaign document by the Democratic State Central Committee of Pennsylvania, and thus achieved a wide circulation and led to extended debate, a debate acrimonious on both sides, and shuffling and evasive so far as the anti-slavery Christians were concerned, for it was simply impossible for them to frankly meet the Bishop's Scriptural argument and at the same time unblushingly maintain the divinity of the Bible. Among other declarations called out was a "Protest of the Bishop and Clergy of the Diocese of Pennsylvania," signed by Bishop Potter and about one hundred and sixty-five of his clergy. Bishop Hopkins' action was affirmed to be "unworthy of any servant of Jesus Christ," and to challenge their, the signers', "indignant reprobation." Then the Vermont ecclesiastic dipped his pen in vitriol and began business in earnest. He was hurt, insulted, indignant. With the long-suffering turn-the-other-cheek meekness of the disciple of Jesus he informed his brother of Pennsylvania

of his many shortcomings. "I charge you," he said, "not only with a gross insult against your senior, but with the more serious offense of a false accusation." He pointed out that he had, in 1857, published the same opinions, coupled with a plan for gradual emancipation, with the consent of the South. "You read it, because I sent you a copy, and have your letter of acknowledgment, in which, while you dissented from some of my conclusions, you did it with the courtesy of a Christian gentleman. In that letter there is nothing said about my opinions being 'unworthy of any minister of Jesus Christ,' and nothing of 'indignant reprobation.' But tempora mutantur, et nos mutamur in illis.

"Yes; the times are indeed sadly changed, and you have changed accordingly. For many years you have met in brotherly council with these same Southern slaveholders. You have invited them to the hospitalities of your house, and paid them special deference. The new light of Eastern Abolitionism had not yet risen within our Church, and if you then thought as you now think, you took excellent care that no man among your Southern friends should know it. Moreover, your favorite Theological Seminary, only three years ago, was the Virginia school at Alexandria, raised to great prosperity by Bishop Meade—a slaveholder; and I am very sure that nothing at variance with my view of slavery was ever taught in that institution. Yes; we may well say of you, as of many others, *quantum mutatu ab illo!* How changed is the Bishop of Pennsylvania in three years from his former course of conservatism, peace, and Scriptural consistency!

But the Word of God has not changed; the doctrine of the Apostles has not changed" (p. 45).

"I do believe in the teachings of the inspired Apostles, and in the Holy Catholic (or universal) Church, which you and your clergy also profess to believe. I know that the doctrine of that Church was clear and unanimous on the lawfulness of slavery for eighteen centuries together; and on that point I regard your 'protest' and 'indignant reprobation' as the idle wind that passes by.

"I wish you, therefore, to be advertised that I shall publish, within a few months, if a gracious Providence shall spare my life and faculties, a full demonstration of the truth 'wherein I stand.' And I shall prove in that book, by the most unquestionable authorities, that slaves and slaveholders were in the church from the beginning; that slavery was held to be consistent with Christian principles by the fathers and councils, and by all Protestant divines and commentators, up to the very close of the last century, and that this fact was universal among all churches and sects throughout the Christian world. I shall contend that our Church, which maintains the primitive rule of catholic consent and abjures all novelties, is bound, by her constitution, to hold fast that only safe and enduring rule, or abandon her apostolic claims, and descend to the level of those who are 'driven about by every wind of doctrine'" (p. 47).

This is the book promised by the bishop, and it makes good the denial of the Freethinker that Christianity can rightfully be credited with the extinction of chattel slavery, as is now either ignorantly or disingenuously claimed by practically all Chris-

tians. In this same introductory letter, Bishop Hopkins, lamenting the inroads of "innovations," says: "We have seen the rise and spread of Universalism, Millerism, Pantheism, Mormonism, and Spiritualism. We have seen our venerable mother Church of England sorely agitated by the contagious fever of change, on the one hand toward superstition, and on the other toward Infidel rationalism. And we have heard the increasing clamor against the Bible, sometimes from the devotees of geological speculation, sometimes from the bold deniers of miracles and prophecy, and, not least upon the list, from the loud-tongued apostles of anti-slavery" (p. 48). In this connection, it will be well to quote a few more lines from this letter, to emphasize the fact of bondage to the past to which the church dooms her ministers, for this greatly helps to explain why they, many of them naturally bright and good men, fight so persistently against increasing knowledge and a more gentle humanity:

"After forty years spent in the ministry, more than thirty of which have been passed in the office of a bishop, I can look back with humble thankfulness to the Giver of all good for this, at least, that all my best labors have been directed to the preservation of the Church from the inroads of doctrinal innovation. At my ordination I promised 'so to minister the doctrines and sacraments and discipline of Christ, as the Lord hath commanded, and as this church hath received the same,' and certain it is that 'this Church' had not received the modern doctrine of ultra-abolitionism at that time, as I trust she never will receive it, because it is contrary to the sacred Scriptures. I also promised

'with all faithful diligence to banish and drive away from the Church all erroneous and strange doctrines contrary to God's Word,' and I made those promises in the true sense which the venerable Bishop White, my ordainer, attached to them. I believed then as he believed, that our Southern brethren committed no sin in having slaves, and that they were men of as much piety as any ministers in our communion. I believed as he believed, that the plain precepts and practice of the Apostles sanctioned the institution, although, as a matter of expediency, the time might come when the South would prefer, as the North had done, to employ free labor. These promises I have kept faithfully to the present day; and if, when I am drawing near to the end of my career, I am to be condemned and vilified by you and your clergy, because I still maintain them to the utmost of my slender ability, be assured, my Right Reverend Brother, that I shall regret the fact much more on your account than my own" (p. 48). The same idea comes to the surface in this: "Now the whole of this modern and monstrous doctrine [that slavery is a sin] I utterly repudiate, as at war with the laws of God and man. You know as well as I do, that it is a pure novelty, unheard of while you were the rector of St. Paul's Church, Boston" (p. 53). "As to rebellion, I have always been opposed to everything which deserves the name, in the family, in the church, in the state, or in any other relation of society. The Apostles commanded obedience, not only to the slave, but to the child, to the wife, and to every subject of earthly government. 'Submit yourself to every ordinance of man, for the

**Lord's sake,' saith the Apostle Peter. 'Let every soul be subject to the higher powers,' saith St. Paul" (p. 55).**

**As the original essay, "Bible View of Slavery," covers the same ground as that gone over by the clergymen already quoted, and contains substantially the same citations and arguments as were found in their briefs, we shall make but one quotation from it, and then pass on to Bishop Hopkins' review of the history of Christianity's attitude towards slavery, the one excerpt making still more plain the principle by which he and his fellow defenders of the institution were governed:**

**"A physical evil it [slavery] may be, but this does not satisfy the judgment of its more zealous adversaries, since they contend that it is a moral evil—a positive sin to hold a human being in bondage, under any circumstances whatever, unless as a punishment inflicted on crimes, for the safety of the community.**

**"Here, therefore, lies the true aspect of the controversy, and it is evident that it can be settled only by the Bible. For every Christian is bound to assent to the rule of the inspired Apostle, that 'sin is the transgression of the law,' namely, the law laid down in the Scriptures by the authority of God—the supreme 'Lawgiver, who is able to save and to destroy.' From his Word there can be no appeal. No [other] rebellion can be so atrocious in his sight as that which dares to rise against his government. No blasphemy can be more unpardonable than that which imputes sin or moral evil to the decrees of the eternal judge, who alone is perfect in wisdom, in knowledge, and in love" (p. 6).**

Bishop Hopkins makes copious quotations from the Fathers of the united Church, before the separation of the East from the West, bringing the record of individual opinion down into the seventh century, and he finds his contention that slavery is not sin under the law of God strongly supported by Tertullian, Jerome, Augustine, Basil, Prosper of Aquitaine, Gregory the Great, and Isidore of Seville (pp. 99 to 109).

Covering the same period, we find citations supporting the Bishop's position from "The Canons of the Apostles," the Clementine Constitutions, the Councils of Gangra (A. D. 341), Agde (506), Orleans (511), Epone (517), Orleans (541), Orleans (549), Macon (581), Toledo (589), Narbonne (589), Berghamstead (697), Aix-la-Chapelle (816), and Worms (868). Also, the capitulary of the Emperor Louis, which "though not in the usual form of a Council, is of equal authority, as bearing testimony to the doctrine and practice of the Church." The Council of Epone decreed that if a master should kill his slave without judicial authority he would expiate the effusion of blood by excommunication during two years." The Council of Worms was less severe, giving a choice of an excommunication of two years or a penance of two years. Then, we have these decrees "all distinctly proving the institution as it was acknowledged by the Church for the first nine hundred years of the Christian era, providing for the return of fugitive slaves to their masters, repeating the duty of the slave to be faithful to his lord, and the duty of the master to be kind to his servant, while not one suggestion can be found imputing sin to the rela-

tion between the master and the slave, nor regarding it as a matter that ought to be abolished, nor treating it as inconsistent, in the slightest degree, with the purest principles of Christian piety. Nor is this the whole. For these councils further prove that slaves belonged to the churches, the monasteries, the bishops, and the clergy, during all these ages" (pp. 110 to 115).

Fleury's "Ecclesiastical History" is cited for examples of distinguished Christian slaveholders in the Fourth, Fifth, and Eighth centuries, for the appeal of the bishops in the Council of Soissons (853) to "the king to use his authority—that he would forbid the seigneurs to hinder the bishops from having the peasants, who were serfs under these seigneurs, scourged with rods, when they deserved it for their crimes," and for a decree of Pope Benedict VIII. (1022) ordering the punishment of whip or prison for serfs who should attempt to acquire property as freemen, "until the Church should have withdrawn all the titles of the property" (p. 116). Bingham's "The Antiquities of the Christian Church" says that "'A slave was not allowed to enter himself into a monastery, or take orders, without the consent of the master, . . . because this was to deprive his master of his legal right of service, which, by the original state and condition of slaves, was his due—and the church would not be accessory to such frauds and injustice, but rather discouraged them, by prohibitions and suitable penalties laid upon them'" (p. 118). Bingham died in 1723.

Melanchthon and Calvin, in their comments on Paul, unequivocally sustain the position of the



bishop, while Pool's "Synopsis Criticorum" says of Paul in his Epistle to the Ephesians (vi., 5): "'He teaches that Christian liberty is consistent with political slavery, and that political arrangements are neither taken away nor changed by Christ'" (p. 122). Other commentators cited by Bishop Hopkins are "Patrick, Lowth and Whitby, Gill, Henry, Scott, the Comprehensive Commentary, D'Oyley and Mant, Clarke, and on the New Testament, Davenant, Hammond, Doddridge, MacKnight, Wordsworth, and Alford. Reckoning Melanchthon for the Lutherans, the others will represent the Presbyterians, the Baptists, the Methodists, and the Congregationalists, as well as the Protestant Episcopalians. The 'Letters on Slavery' by the late learned Bishop England, will next be cited for the Church of Rome. And no one pretends to doubt the opinions of the Church of Russia and the Oriental Christians" (p. 123). The examination of these commentators occupies the book from the 123d to the 228th pages, inclusive. The Bishop sums up at the beginning of the next chapter, in these words: "I have now, I trust, redeemed my pledge to establish the position taken in my 'Bible View of Slavery' against the modern doctrine of ultra-abolitionism, namely, that the slavery of the Negro race in the Southern States was lawful, not only by the Constitution of our country, but by the Word of God and the voice of the Holy Catholic Church from the beginning. Of course it resulted that in the relation of master and slave there was no sin, because sin is the transgression of the law; and I may safely defy my learned and zealous antagonists to point out any law of God

or of the Church which forbids or condemns the institution" (p. 229).

"The favorite argument of our ultra-abolitionists is derived from the assumption that the slave-system of the South is in direct contrariety to the Gospel, and that the extinction of slavery in Europe was owing to the influence of Christianity. No statement can be more utterly unsupported by the facts of history. . . . Here, then, we see that this sort of English slavery [villeinage] died out by degrees, without any direct assault either by Church or State. The villeins were of the same race of Anglo-Saxons, and there was no barrier of color to prevent their gradual emancipation. But to prove conclusively that Christianity had nothing to do with the change, the last of the villeins that remained were those who belonged to the bishops, monasteries, and other ecclesiastical corporations. It is perfectly manifest that if the Church had disapproved the system, as being inconsistent with the Gospel, the bishops and the monasteries would have been the first, instead of the last, to let their bondmen go" (pp. 262, 264). Quoting at length from the English historian, Robertson, Bishop Hopkins deduces these conclusions from the excerpts taken: "First, that large numbers of freemen became voluntary slaves to the churches and monasteries in Europe, and that the clergy were zealous to encourage the practice; a very decisive proof that no sin was attached to the relation in their judgment. And secondly, that the inferior order of men owed the recovery of their liberty, not, as is commonly supposed, to the influence of Christianity, but to the decline of the aristocratic feudal

system" (p. 271). Motley's "Rise of the Dutch Republic" is consulted to show how slavery was always looked upon as a matter of course by Christian rulers, priests, and people. "The number of slaves throughout the Netherlands was very large; the number belonging to the Bishpropric of Utrecht, enormous'" [tenth century]. "The change which gradually brought about the general decline of the feudal system of vassalage, is rightly stated by Mr. Motley to have been not religion but commerce. 'In the fifteenth century,' saith he, 'commerce had converted slaves into freemen, freemen into burghers, and the burghers were daily acquiring a larger hold upon the government'" (pp. 273-4).

"That the Church of England held slavery to be perfectly lawful in itself, as well as the Church of Rome and all the [other] Christian denominations of Europe and America, through the whole period of their history, down to the end of the last century, and far into the present, is therefore as incontrovertible as any fact can be. The bishops of that Church saw no sin in the treaty of Utrecht [by which the importation of four thousand eight hundred negro slaves each year for thirty years was authorized], to which the religious Queen Anne was a party. They concurred in the Act of Parliament under George the Third, which regarded the Negroes as lawful merchandise. The Puritans of New England sold the Indians as slaves, and were the chief importers of the Africans for the Southern market" (p. 283).

**American Slavery Distinguished from the Slavery**

of English Theorists, and Justified by the Law of Nature. By Rev. Samuel Seabury, D. D., author of "Discourses on the Supremacy and Obligation of Conscience." New York: Mason Brothers. 1861.

"One of the sources of our dissensions (in my judgment the original and chief source) is the opinion that has been extensively propagated, that slavery is a moral and social evil; that is (though the words are not generally used in their full significance), that it is wrong in morals and disgraceful in Christian and civilized society. The fact that the Constitution of the United States covers Slave States as well as Free, is reason enough, in my opinion, why every man that lives under it should assume slavery to be neither morally wrong nor socially disreputable. Slavery is no more forbidden by Scripture than by the Constitution, but is permitted by both; and I can not but think that modesty and good sense should have taught all citizens and all Christians who could not see the reason of the permission, to take it on the authority of the Constitution of their country and the Rule of their Faith, without an appeal to a higher law" (Preface, p. iii.). It was but a short step from an Infallible Bible to an Infallible Constitution, and a clergyman naturally found it one easy to take, but it might have been thought that the juxtaposition of the two alleged Oracles would have suggested a danger to the mind of the ecclesiastic. There is something so ludicrous even to the dulled vision of the ordinary authoritarian, that a minister might well pause before telling Christians to accept it on authority, just as they would

accept the Bible, for he might reasonably fear that the sense of humor of some of them would lead to the inquiry, Why not use reason in regard to both?

● “The mind of the Northern and Eastern States—surpassed by that of no other age or country in acuteness, activity, and depth, excited by keener stimulants and vaster prospects, and yet thrown upon its own energies with no hereditary institutions to steady it, with no learned order to guide it, except in dependence on popular support (which means subserviency in the end to the popular will), has germinated, as it were, with wild luxuriance, and put forth, among many good fruits, not a few crude theories of morals and religion. In the prosecution of Moral Reform, Temperance, Anti-Slavery, Woman's Rights, and other fancied schemes of philanthropy, it has contrived to divest some gross sins of their deformity, and to convert, by means of penal enactments, some innocent actions into crimes. In a word, it has proposed for our consideration, and made some progress in forcing on our acceptance, a new church, a new creed, and a new decalogue. In the Southern States, where the distinctions of society are permanent and sharply defined, where the fountains of learning and science are open to the few, and the many are confined to bodily toil and labor, the tone of thought has been naturally more conservative. Slavery, whatever be its real or imaginary evils, like all fixed institutions, unchanged in the midst of changes, has given stability to society; it has been, and still is, a standing protest against the mental extravagances of the New England States; and it

will probably continue to beat back the waves of Northern fanaticism, unless the deeper and hoarser torrent of Northern cupidity, following the precedents of history, rolls down on the South to complete the devastation which Northern fanaticism has begun. Slavery is at present the great point of antagonism, not so much, I think, between the North and the South, as between order, conservatism and Christianity on the one hand, and misrule, anarchy, and Infidelity on the other" (p. 19).

There can be no doubt that these are very suggestive words. They indicate, taken in connection with other utterances of like nature quoted here from other representatives of the Church, that much of the sympathy which churchmen showed for slavery had its origin in their instinctive fear, a fear for which there was ample ground, that the overthrow of slavery would carry with it with an ever-increasing questioning of the authority of the Church and the Bible in other departments of social life, as well as of individual thought. It is perfectly clear that the Rev. Mr. Seabury prefers a society where "distinctions" are "permanent and sharply defined," where "the fountains of learning and science are open to the few," and where "the many are confined to bodily toil and labor." Slavery gives "stability to society," for it is "unchanged in the midst of changes," it is "a standing protest against the mental extravagances" [activities] of free states, and it is the bulwark of "order, conservatism, and Christianity." No wonder the church has been so consistently the defender of slavery, mental and physical.

"The right of suffrage is then truly universal

when it is extended to all the adult males of the state, without regard to distinctions of property; it can not go beyond this limit, and be extended to women, without violating the main principle on which the very being of the State rests for support, which is the subordination of wives to their husbands, of children to their fathers, and of slaves (in every community which has them) to their masters" (p. 68).

"I see no reason, then, why the relation of master and servant should not have existed in a state of innocence as well as that of husband and wife, parent and child. Certainly, the Christian religion, which assumes the fall of man as a fact, and aims to restore him to the state from which he has fallen, does not abrogate the relation of master and servant, but seeks to purge it of selfishness, and to reclaim it, as far as human infirmity allows, to a state of ideal perfection" (p. 86). "Nor was slavery extirpated from the empire when Rome became Christian, under Constantine. On the contrary, it was recognized by the Christian Church, and the mutual rights and duties involved in it were guarded by canons, which forbade slaves to be ordained, or baptized, without the consent of their owners, lest these acts should be made a pretext for defrauding the master of his right of property in the slave" (p. 105). "Will they who reject Revelation because it allows slavery, go farther and proclaim war upon the common sense of mankind? But for particular men, or even for a single age, to set up their own reason as the measure of all human reason, what is this better than insanity? Universal consent has ever been thought the most



infallible criterion of truth" (p. 108). Well, is there not "universal consent" among men in desiring liberty for themselves? But here is a richer one: "It is no more an impeachment of God's justice and goodness that men should be born unequal in fortune, than that divers orders of creatures should be made unequal in nature. Whatever any creature has that is positive, either by its nature or condition, is to be ascribed to the bounty of the All Glorious Giver; whatever any creature is not or has not, is a mere negation, and to be ascribed, not to any defect of God's goodness, but to the original non-entity out of which the creature was produced" (p. 129). "Let the origin of the relation have been what it may, yet when once it can plead such prescription of time as to have received a fixed and determinate character, it must be assumed to be founded in the consent of the parties, and to be, to all intents and purposes, a compact or covenant, of the same kind with that which lies at the foundation of all human society. . . . The relation can not be severed at the will of the parties; it has passed beyond their control, and is established by the decree and order of Divine Providence" (p. 144).

"We are in no sort judges beforehand of what it was fit for our Lord to do. It may, for aught we know, have seemed good to Him that some of His followers should be intrusted with this large power [of the master over the slave] for their more effectual probation; for the development, possibly, of virtues which could not otherwise be manifested, and for a demonstration to the world of the efficacy of His Gospel in restraining and regulating



an authority which, before His time, had been abused beyond measure, and almost beyond belief. We are totally incompetent to judge beforehand what regulations it was proper for Him to make on this subject. Our inquiry is, or ought to be, simply into the facts of the case. Has our Lord in fact interdicted this sort of power and authority to His followers? Have his Apostles done so? Did His Church do so in the age succeeding the Apostles, when their instructions were remembered, and best understood?

“Now, the fact is, that we have no prohibition of this sort, either from our Lord, or from his Apostles, or from the ancient Church. . . . There is nothing in the Scriptures of the New Testament which either expressly, or by implication, forbids it. . . . But the crowning argument remains, viz., that, after the establishment of Christianity, and under its benign influence, slavery became gradually extinct. This reasoning, I apprehend, is no better than the post hoc, propter hoc logic, which is sometimes maliciously charged on the medical profession. The drug is administered and the patient recovers; ergo, the drug has cured him! - The truth is, in my opinion, that Christianity had no more to do with the decay of slavery in the Roman empire, than it had with its extirpation in our Northern States. In both cases slavery was abandoned because it did not pay. . . . when slavery ceased to pay [in the Roman empire] it died out, the gospel contributing nothing, directly or indirectly, to its decadence” (pp. 285-6-94-5).

“Another reason for the opinion that the Gospel

is indirectly adverse to slavery is, that as the Gospel diffuses light and knowledge, and slavery requires the soul to be kept in darkness, the two can not permanently coexist; and as the gospel is to triumph, slavery must succumb and perish.

“Pray, of what gospel is this said? The Gospel of Christ and his Apostles, or the gospel of my Lord Brougham and his schoolmasters? That the dissemination of ‘Useful Knowledge,’ as it is called, which supposes the art of reading to be the first step of human advancement, which multiplies books and tracts to save men from thinking, and to nurse them in learning idleness, or to fill their heads with false notions of human rights and fallacious theories of human society; filling their hearts, also, with discontent, envy, and hatred, and unfitting them, head and heart, for any humble and subordinate station in which God’s providence may have placed them; this sort of light may lead to the extinction of slavery if permitted to penetrate it is likely enough. But this sort of light is so far from being an indirect influence of Christianity, that it does not proceed from it at all, and, indeed, is as unlike it as night to day. The light which Christ imparts is the knowledge of ‘salvation; and for the propagation of this knowledge He has appointed His own means and His own agents; and the art of reading (however useful in its place) is not the means which he has appointed, nor is the schoolmaster, although an important functionary in his way, the agent whom he has commissioned” (p. 291). It is greatly to be feared that Mr. Seabury would find himself much

at variance with his brethren of this day as to the "influence of Christianity on civilization."

"A strong affirmative argument, indeed, might easily be made to show that the Scriptures, both of the Old and New Testament, expressly recognize and sanction slavery; but this argument has been so often and so luminously stated, and, indeed, the fact is so apparent on the very face of the Scriptures, that I deem it quite superfluous to swell my pages with references and quotations designed to establish it" (p. 296).

Rev. James Smylie, Presbyterian, of Mississippi, published a pamphlet in defense of slavery, about 1838. Stephen S. Foster quotes this paragraph from it in his "Brotherhood of Thieves" (p. 15):

"If slavery be a sin, and advertising and apprehending slaves with a view to restore them to their masters, is a direct violation of the divine law, and if the buying, selling or holding a slave, for the sake of gain, is a heinous sin and scandal, then, verily, three-fourths of all the Episcopalians, Methodists, Baptists, and Presbyterians, in eleven states of the Union, are of the devil. They 'hold,' if they do not buy and sell, slaves, and, with few exceptions, they hesitate not to 'apprehend and restore' runaway slaves when in their power."

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The Church has made the record by which it must stand through the ages; the Church of our day made itself barbarous by accepting as divine and infallible the teaching of the centuries of ancient barbarism, and we all have suffered because of its fanatical clinging to dead creeds and primitive institutions. Let us beware that we commit

no like folly; let us always remember that the Past has for us lessons and warnings, but never an authority that is binding.

“It is not enough to win rights from a king and write them down in a book;

New men, new lights; and the fathers' code the sons may never brook.

What is liberty now were license then; their freedom our yoke would be;

And each new decade must have new men to determine its liberty.

Mankind is a marching army, with a broadening front the while;

Shall it crowd its bulk on the farm-paths, or clear to the outward file?

Its pioneers are the dreamers who heed neither tongue nor pen

Of the human spiders whose silk is wove from the lives of toiling men.”

John Boyle O'Reilly.